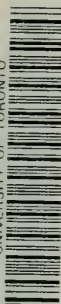


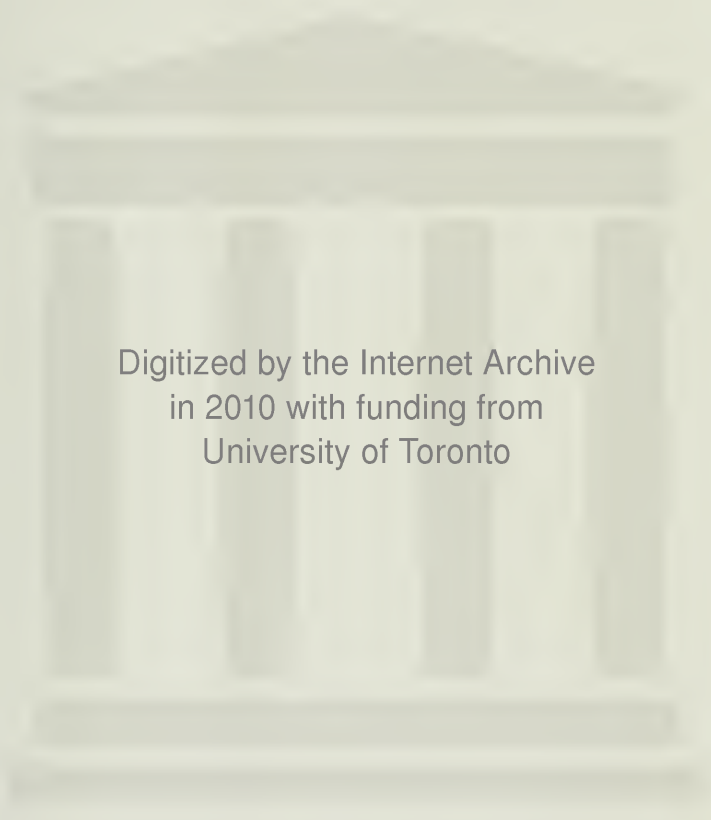
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BISHOP BURNET'S

HISTORY

OF

HIS OWN TIME,

FROM THE

RESTORATION OF KING CHARLES II.

TO THE

CONCLUSION OF THE TREATY OF PEACE AT UTRECHT,
IN THE REIGN OF QUEEN ANNE.

To which is prefixed,

A SUMMARY RECAPITULATION OF AFFAIRS IN CHURCH AND STATE, FROM
KING JAMES I. TO THE RESTORATION IN THE YEAR 1660.

Together with

THE AUTHOR'S LIFE, BY THE EDITOR:

AND SOME

EXPLANATORY NOTES.

THE WHOLE REVISED AND CORRECTED BY HIM.

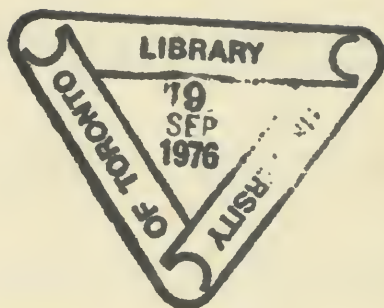
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THE
HISTORY,
&c.

THE Duke of Marlborough had a great domestic affliction at this time : he lost his only son, a graceful person, and a very promising youth : he died at Cambridge of the small-pox. This, as may be imagined, went very deep in his father's heart, and stopped his passing the seas some days longer than he had intended. Upon his arrival on the other side, the Dutch brought their armies into the field : the first thing they undertook was the siege of Bonne. In the mean while, all men's eyes were turned towards Bavaria : the court of Vienna had given it out, all the former winter, that they would bring such a force upon that Elector, as would quickly put an end to that war, and seize his whole country. But the slowness of that court appeared on this, as it had done on many other occasions ; for though they brought two armies into the field, yet they were not able to deal with the Elector's forces. Villars, who lay with his army at Strasburgh, had orders to break through and join the Elector ; so he was to force his way to him at all adventures. He passed the Rhine, and set down before Fort Kiel, which lay over against Strasburgh, and took it in a few days. Prince Lewis was in no condition to raise the siege ; for the best part of his army was called away to the war in Bavaria : he therefore posted himself advantageously at Stollhoffen ; yet he could not have maintained it, if the states had not sent him a good body of foot, which came seasonably, a few days before Marshal Villars attacked him with an army that was more than double his number ; but his men, chiefly the Dutch battalions, received them with so much courage, that the French were forced to quit the attack, after they had lost about four thousand men in it. Yet, upon repeated orders from France, Marshal Villars resolved to venture the loss of his whole army rather than abandon the Elector ; who, though

1703.
Preparations for the campaign.

1703.



he had taken Newburgh, and had surprised Ratisbon, and had several advantages in little engagements with the imperialists, yet was like to be overpowered by a superior force, if he was not relieved in time. The Black Forest was thought impracticable in that season, which was a very wet one: this was too much trusted to, so that the passes were ill looked after; and therefore Villars overcame all difficulties and joined the Elector: but his troops were so harassed with the march, that he was obliged to put them, for some time, into quarters of refreshment.

Bonne
taken.

The Duke of Marlborough carried on the siege of Bonne with such vigour, that they capitulated within ten days after the trenches were opened: the French reckoned upon a longer resistance, and hoped to have diverted this by an attempt upon Liege. The states had a small army about Maestricht, which the French intended to fall upon, being much superior to it: but they found the Dutch in so good order, and so well posted, that they retired within their lines as soon as they saw the Duke of Marlborough, after the siege of Bonne, was marching towards them. The winter had produced very little action in Italy: the country was under another very heavy plague, by a continued succession of threatening, and of some very devouring earthquakes: Rome itself had a share in the common calamity; but it proved to them more dreadful than it was mischievous. Prince Eugene found that his letters, and the most pressing representations he could send to the court of Vienna, had no effect: so at last he obtained leave to go thither.

Earthquakes
in Italy.

The battle
of Ekeren.

The motions of the Dutch army made it believed, there was a design on Antwerp. Cohorn was making advances in the Dutch Flanders, and Opdam commanded a small army on the other side of the Scheld, while the Duke of Marlborough lay, with the main army, near the lines in Brabant. Boufflers was detached from Villeroy's army, with a body, double in number to Opdam's, to fall on him: he marched so quick, that the Dutch, being surprised at Ekeren, were put in great disorder, and Opdam, apprehending all was lost, fled with a body of his men to Breda: but the Dutch rallied, and maintained their ground with such firmness, that the French retired little to their honour; since though they were much superior in number,

yet they let the Dutch recover out of their first confusion, and keep their ground, although forsaken by their general, who justified himself in the best manner he could, and cast the blame on others.

1703.

Boufflers' conduct was so much censured, that it was thought this finished his disgrace; for he was no more put at the head of the French armies: nor was the Duke of Marlborough without some share of censure on this occasion; since it was pretended, that he ought to have sent a force to support Opdam, or have made an attempt on Villeroy's army, when it was weakened by the detachment sent with Boufflers.

The French lines were judged to be so strong, that the forcing them seemed impracticable, so the Duke of Marlborough turned towards Huy, which was soon taken; and after that to Limburgh, which he took with no loss, but that of so much time as was necessary to bring up a train of artillery: and as soon as that was done, the garrison were made prisoners of war, for they were in no condition to maintain a siege. Guelder was also blocked up, so that before the end of the campaign it was brought to capitulate. Thus the Lower Rhine was secured, and all that country, called the Coudras, was entirely reduced: this was all that our troops, in conjunction with the Dutch, could do in Flanders: we had the superior army, but what by reason of the cautious maxims of the states, what by reason of the factions among them, (which were rising very high between those who had been of the late King's party, and were now for having a captain-general, and those of the Lovestein party, who were for governing all by a deputation from the states) no great design could be undertaken by an army so much distracted.

Huy, Limburgh, and Guelder, with all the Coudras, taken.

In the Upper Rhine matters went much worse: Villars lay for some time on the Danube, while the Elector of Bavaria marched into Tyrol, and possessed himself of Innspruck: the Emperor's force was so broken into many small armies, in different places, that he had not one good army any where: he had none at all in Tyrol: and all that the Prince of Baden could do, was to watch Villars's motions: but he did not venture on attacking him, during this separation. Many blamed his conduct: some called his courage, and others his fidelity in question; while many

The success of the French on the Danube.

1703.

excused him, since his army was both weak and ill furnished in all respects. The Duke of Vendome had orders to march from the Milanese to Tyrol, there to join the Elector of Bavaria: upon which junction, the ruin of the house of Austria would have probably followed: but the boors in Tyrol rose, and attacked the Elector with so much resolution, that he was forced to retire out of the country, with considerable loss, and was driven out before the Duke of Vendome could join him, so that he came too late: he seemed to have a design on Trent, but the boors were now so animated with their successes, and were so conducted and supported by officers and troops sent them by the Emperor, that Vendome was forced to return back without being able to effect any thing.

Little done
in Italy.

Nothing passed this summer in Italy: the imperialists were too weak, and too ill supplied from Germany, to be able to act offensively: and the miscarriage of the design upon Tyrol lost the French so much time, that they undertook nothing, unless it were the siege of Ostiglia, in which they failed. Bersello, after a long blockade, was forced to capitulate, and by that means, the French possessed themselves of the Duke of Modena's country: the Duke of Burgundy came to Alsace, and sat down before Brisack, of which he was soon master, by the cowardice or treachery of those who commanded, for which they were condemned by a council of war.

A war be-
gun in Hun-
gary.

The Emperor's misfortunes grew upon him: Cardinal Calonitz and Esterhasi had the government of Hungary trusted chiefly to them: the former was so cruel, and the other so ravenous, that the Hungarians took advantage from this distraction in the Emperor's affairs, to run together in great bodies, and in many places, setting Prince Ragotski at their head. They demanded that their grievances should be redressed, and that their privileges should be restored: they were much animated in this by the practices of the French, and the Elector of Bavaria's agents: some small assistance was sent them by the way of Poland: they were encouraged to enter upon no treaty, but to unite and fortify themselves; assurances being given them that no peace should be concluded, unless they were fully restored to all their antient liberties.

The court of Vienna was much alarmed at this, fearing

it might be secretly set on by the Turks: though that court gave all possible assurances, that they would maintain the peace of Carlowitz most religiously, and that they would in no sort encourage or assist the malecontents. A revolution happening in that empire, in which a new sultan was set up, raised new apprehensions of a breach on that side: but the Sultan renewed the assurances of maintaining the peace so solemnly, that all those fears were soon dissipated. There was a great faction in the Emperor's court, and among his ministers; and it did not appear that he had strength or genius enough to govern them. Count Mansfield was much suspected of being in the interests of France: the Prince of Baden and Prince Eugene both agreed in charging his conduct, though they differed almost in every thing else: yet he was so possessed of the Emperor's favour and confidence, that it was not easy to get him set aside: in conclusion, he was advanced to a high post in the Emperor's household, and Prince Eugene was made president of the council of war.

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Disorders in
the Empe-
ror's court.

But what effect soever this might have in succeeding campaigns, it was then too late in the year to find remedies for the present disorders; and all affairs on the south of the Danube were falling into great confusion. Things went a little better on the north side of that river: the Upper Palatinate was entirely conquered; but, near the end of the year, Augsburgh was forced to submit to the Elector of Bavaria, and Landaw was besieged by the French: Tallard, who commanded the siege, took it in fewer weeks than it had cost the Germans months to take it in the former year: nor was this all, an army of the confederates was brought together to raise the siege: the young Prince of Hesse commanded, but the Prince of Nassau Welburg, as a man of more experience in war, was chiefly depended on, though his conduct shewed how little he deserved it. The Emperor's birth-day was a day of diversion, and the German generals, then at Spire, allowed themselves all the idle liberties used in courts on such days, without the ordinary precaution of having scouts or parties abroad, in the same careless state, as if no enemy had been near them. Tallard, having intelligence of this, left a party of his army to make a shew, and maintain the works before Landaw, and marched with his best troops against the Germans: he sur-

Augsburgh
and Landaw
taken by the
French.

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A treaty
with the
King of
Portugal.

prised and routed them; upon which Landaw capitulated: with this the warlike operations of this campaign ended, very gloriously and with great advantage to the French.

But two great negotiations, then brought to a conclusion, very much changed the face of affairs: all the confederates pressed the King of Portugal to come into the alliance, as his own interest led him to it; since it was visible, that as soon as Spain was once united to the crown of France, he could not hope to continue long in Portugal. The Almirante of Castille was believed to be in the interests of the house of Austria; therefore, to send him out of the way, he was appointed to go ambassador to France: he seemed to undertake it, and made the necessary preparations: he saw this embassy was intended for an exile, and that it put him in the power of his enemies: so, after he had raised what was necessary to defray his expense, he secretly changed his course, and escaped with the wealth he had in his hands to Lisbon, where he entered into secret negotiations with the King of Portugal and the Emperor: he gave great assurances of the good dispositions in which both the people and grandes of Spain were, who were grown sick of their new masters. The risk he himself ran, seemed a very full credential: he assured them, the new King was despised, and that the French about him were universally hated: the Spaniards could not bear the being made a province, either to France or to the Emperor.

He therefore proposed, that the Emperor and the King of the Romans should renounce all their pretensions, and transfer them to the Archduke, and declare him King of Spain; and that he should be immediately sent thither; for he assured them, the Spaniards would not revolt from a king that was in possession, till they saw another king who claimed his right: and in that case, they would think they had a right to adhere to the king they liked best. The King of Portugal likewise demanded an enlargement of his frontiers, and some new accessions to his crown, which were reasonable, but could not be stipulated but by a King of Spain.

In the treaty that the Emperor had made with the late King, and with the states, one article was, that they should be at liberty to possess themselves of the dominions which the crown of Spain had in the West Indies, and he vested

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in them the right that their arms should give them in these acquisitions; upon which the King had designed to send a great fleet, with a land army, into the Bay of Mexico, to seize some important places there, with a design of restoring them to the crown of Spain, upon advantageous articles for a free trade, as soon as the Spaniards should receive a king of the house of Austria. This design was now laid aside, and the reason that the ministers gave for it, was, that the Almirante had assured them, that if we possessed ourselves of any of their places in the West Indies, the whole nation would by that means become entirely French; they would never believe our promises of restoring them; and seeing they had no naval power of their own to recover them, they would go into the French interest very cordially, as the only way left to recover these places.

An entire credit was given to the Almirante; so the Queen and the states agreed to send over a great fleet, with a land army of twelve thousand men, together with a great supply of money and arms to Portugal; that King undertaking to have an army of twenty-eight thousand men ready to join ours. In this treaty an incident happened that had almost spoiled the whole: the King of Portugal insisted on demanding the flag, and the other respects to be paid by our admiral, when he was in his ports: the Earl of Nottingham insisted, it was a dishonour to England to strike, even in another king's ports: this was not demanded of the fleet that was sent to bring over Queen Catharine; so, though Methuen our ambassador had agreed to this article, he pressed the Queen not to ratify it.

Methuen, in his own justification, said, he consented to the article, because he saw it was insisted on so much, that no treaty could be concluded unless that point were yielded: the low state of their affairs, in the year 1662, when the protection of England was all they had in view for their preservation, made such a difference between that and the present time, that the one was not to be set up for a precedent to govern the other: besides, even then the matter was much contested in their councils, though the extremities to which they were reduced made them yield it. The Lord Godolphin looked on this as too inconsiderable to be insisted on; the whole affairs of Europe

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seemed to turn upon this treaty, and so important a matter ought not to be retarded a day for such punctilios as a salute or striking the flag: and it seemed reasonable, that every sovereign prince should claim this acknowledgment, unless where it was otherwise stipulated by express treaties. The laying so much weight on such matters very much heightened jealousies; and it was said, that the Earl of Nottingham and the Tories seemed to lay hold on every thing that could obstruct the progress of the war; while the round proceeding of the Lord Godolphin reconciled many to him. The Queen confirmed the treaty, upon which the court of Vienna was desired to do their part. But that court proceeded with its ordinary slowness: the mildest censure passed on these delays was, that they proceeded from an unreasonable affectation of magnificence in the ceremonial, which could not be performed soon nor easily in a poor but a haughty court: it was done at last, but so late in the year, that the new-declared King of Spain could not reach Holland before the end of October. A squadron of our fleet was lying there to bring him over; such as was wont to convoy the late King when he crossed the seas. But the ministers of the King of Spain thought it was not strong enough; they pretended they had advertisements that the French had a stronger squadron in Dunkirk, which might be sent out to intercept him; so an additional strength was sent: this lost some time and a fair wind.

The great
wind in No-
vember.

It had like to have been more fatal; for about the end of November, the weather grew very boisterous, and broke out, on the 27th of November, in the most violent storm, both by sea and land, that had been known in the memory of man: the city of London was so shaken with it, that people were generally afraid of being buried in the ruins of their houses: some houses fell and crushed their masters to death: great hurt was done in the southern parts of England; little happening in the north, where the storm was not so violent. There was a great fall of trees, chiefly of elms, that were blown down by the wind. We had at that time the best part of our naval force upon the sea: which filled all people with great apprehensions of an irreparable loss; and, indeed, if the storm had not been at its height at full flood, and in a spring tide, the loss might have proved fatal to the nation. It was so considerable, that

fourteen or fifteen men of war were cast away, in which fifteen hundred seamen perished; few merchantmen were lost: such as were driven to sea were safe: some few only were upset. Thus the most threatening danger to which the nation could be exposed went off with little damage; we all saw our hazard, since the loss of our fleet must have been the loss of the nation. If this great hurricane had come at low water, or in a quarter tide, our ships must have been driven out upon the banks of sand that lie before the coast, and have stuck and perished there as some of the men of war did; but the sea being so full of water, all but some heavy ships got over these safe. Our squadron, which was then in the Maese, suffered but little, and the ships were soon refitted and ready to sail.

About the end of December, the King of Spain landed at Portsmouth; the Duke of Somerset was sent by the Queen to receive him, and to bring him to an interview, which was to be at Windsor: Prince George went and met him on the way, and he was treated with great magnificence: the court was very splendid, and much thronged: the Queen's behaviour towards him was very noble and obliging. The young King charmed all that were there; he had a gravity beyond his age, tempered with much modesty: his behaviour was in all points so exact, that there was not a circumstance in his whole deportment that was liable to censure: he paid an extraordinary respect to the Queen, and yet maintained a due greatness in it. He had an art of seeming well pleased with every thing, without so much as smiling once all the while he was at court, which was only three days: he spoke but little, and all he said was judicious and obliging. All possible haste was made in fitting out the fleet; so that he set sail in the beginning of January, and for five days he had a fair wind with good weather; but then the wind changed, and he was driven back to Portsmouth: he lay there above three weeks, and then he had a very prosperous navigation. The forces that were ordered to go over to his assistance, were by this time got ready to attend on him; so he sailed with a great fleet, both of men of war and transport ships. He arrived happily at Lisbon, where he was received with all the outward expressions of joy and welcome, and at an expense, in a vain magnificence, which that court could not well

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The new
King of
Spain came
to England.

He landed
at Lisbon.

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bear: but a national vanity prevailed to carry this too far, by which other things, that were more necessary, were neglected: that court was then very melancholy; for the young Infanta, whom the King of Spain was to have married, as had been agreed, died a few days before his arrival.

The Duke of Savoy came into the alliance.

While this negotiation with Portugal was carried on, the Duke of Savoy began to see his own danger, if the two crowns should come to be united; and he saw, that if the King of France drove the imperialists out of Italy, and became master of the Milanese, he must lie exposed and at mercy. He had married his two daughters to the Duke of Burgundy, and to King Philip of Spain; but as he wrote to the Emperor, he was now to take care of himself and his son: his alliance with France was only for one year, which he had renewed from year to year: so he offered, at the end of the year, to enter into the great alliance; and he demanded, for his share, the Novarize and the Montferrat. His leaving the allies, as he had done in the former war, shewed that he maintained the character of his family, of changing sides, as often as he could expect better terms by a new turn: yet his interest lay so visibly now on the side of the alliance, that it was very reasonable to believe he was resolved to adhere firmly to it. So when the demands he made were laid before the court of Vienna, and from thence transmitted to England and Holland, all the assistance that he proposed was promised him. The court of Vienna had no money to spare, but England and the states were to pay him 20,000*l.* a month, of which England was to pay him two-thirds, and the states the rest.

The secret reasons of his former departure from it.

Since I am to relate the rest of this transaction, I must look back, and give some account of his departing from the alliance in the former war, which I had from Monsieur Herval, who was then the King's envoy in Switzerland, a French refugee, but originally of a German family of Augsbourg, settled but lately in France. In January, 1696, when the plot for assassinating the King and invading the nation was thought so surely laid that it could not miscarry, the King of France sent Mr. Chanley very secretly to the Duke of Savoy, with a full credence to the propositions he was to make, demanding a positive answer within six hours. With that the Duke of Orleans wrote very warmly to him: he said, he had employed all his interest

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with the King his brother to get these offers made to him, which he conjured him to accept of, otherwise he must look for utter ruin, without remedy or recovery. Chanley told him, that at that present time he was to reckon that King James was repossessed of the throne of England, and that the Prince of Orange was either dead or in his hands: so he offered to restore Casal and Pigneroll, and all that was afterwards agreed to by the treaty, if he would depart from the alliance. The Duke of Savoy being thus alarmed with a revolution in England, and being so straitened in time, thought the extreme necessity, to which he would be reduced, in case that was true, must justify his submitting, when otherwise his ruin was unavoidable. The worst part of this was, that he got leave to pretend to continue in the alliance, till he had drawn all the supplies he was to expect for that year from England and the states, and then the whole matter was owned, as has been related in the transactions of that year. I leave this upon the credit of him from whom I had it, who assured me he was well informed concerning it.

The Duke of Savoy having now secretly agreed to enter into the alliance, did not declare it, but continued still denying it to the French, that so when the Duke of Vendome sent back his troops to him, at the end of the campaign, he might more safely own it. The French had reason to suspect a secret negotiation, but could not penetrate into it: so they took an effectual, though a very fraudulent method to discover it; which was told me soon after by the Earl of Pembroke. They got the Elector of Bavaria to write to him, with all seeming sincerity, and with great secrecy; for he sent it to him, by a subject of his own, so well disguised and directed, that the Duke of Savoy was imposed on by this management. In this letter the Elector complained bitterly of the insolence and perfidiousness of the French, into whose hands he had put himself: he said, he saw his error now, when it was too late to see how he could correct it; yet, if the Duke of Savoy, who was almost in as bad a state as himself, would join with him, so that they might act by concert, they might yet not only recover themselves, but procure a happy peace for all the rest of Europe. The Duke of Savoy, mistrusting nothing, wrote him a frank answer, in which he owned his own designs, and en-

The French discover his intentions, and make all his troops with them prisoners of war.

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Count Sta-
remberg
joined him.

couraged the Elector to go on, and offered all offices of friendship on his behalf with the rest of the allies. The French, who knew by what ways the Savoyard was to return, seized him, without so much as acquainting the Elector with the discovery that they had made: they saw now into this secret: so when the time came in which the Duke of Vendome ought to have sent back his troops to him, they were prisoners made of war, contrary to all treaties; and with this the war began in those parts. It was much apprehended that, considering the weak and naked state in which the Duke of Savoy then was, the French would have quickly mastered him; but Count Staremburg ventured on a march, which military men said was the best laid, and the best executed, of any in the whole war: he marched from the Modonese, in the worst season of the year, through ways that, by reason of the rains that had fallen, seemed impracticable, having in many places the French both before and behind him: he broke through all, and in conclusion joined the Duke of Savoy with a good body of horse. By this he was rendered safe in Piedmont: it is true the French made themselves quickly masters of all Savoy, except Montmelian; where some small actions happened, much to the Duke's advantage. The Switzers interposed to obtain a neutrality for Savoy, though without effect.

The insur-
rection in
the Ceven-
nes.

The rising in the Cevennes had not been yet subdued, though Marshal Montravel was sent with an army to reduce or destroy them: he committed great barbarities, not only on those he found in arms, but on whole villages, because they, as he was informed, favoured them: they came often down out of their hills in parties, ravaging the country, and they engaged the King's troops with much resolution, and sometimes with great advantage: they seemed resolved to accept of nothing less than the restoring their edicts to them; for a connivance at their own way of worship was offered them: they had many among them who seemed qualified, in a very singular manner, to be the teachers of the rest: they had a great measure of zeal, without any learning; they scarce had any education at all. I spoke with the person who, by the Queen's order, sent one among them to know the state of their affairs: I read some of the letters which he brought from them, full

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of a sublime zeal and piety, expressing a courage and confidence that could not be daunted: one instance of this was, that they all agreed, that if any of them was so wounded, in an engagement with the enemy, that he could not be brought off, he should be shot dead, rather than be left alive to fall into the enemy's hands: it was not possible then to form a judgment of that insurrection, the reports about it were so various and uncertain, it being as much magnified by some as it was undervalued by others: the whole number that they could reckon on was four thousand men, but they had not arms and clothes for half that number; so they used these by turns, while the rest were left at home to follow their labour: they put the country all about them in a great fright, and to a vast expense; while no intelligence could be had of their designs; and they broke out in so many different places, that all who lay within their reach were in a perpetual agitation. It was a lamentable thing that they lay so far within the country, that it was not possible to send supplies to them, unless the Duke of Savoy should be in a condition to break into Dauphiny; and therefore advices were sent them, to accept of such terms as could be had, and to reserve themselves for better times.

In Poland the scene was more embroiled than ever: The affairs of Poland. there was some appearance of peace this summer, but it went off in winter: the old fierce Cardinal drew a diet to Warsaw: there it was declared, that their King had broken all their laws: upon that they, by a formal sentence, deposed him, and declared the throne vacant. This was done in concert with the King of Sweden, who lay with his army at some distance from them, in the neighbourhood of Dantzic, which alarmed the citizens very much. It was believed, that they designed to choose Sobieski, the eldest son of the late King, who then lived at Breslau in Silesia, and being in the Emperor's dominions, he thought himself safer than he proved to be: the King of Poland retired into Saxony in some haste, which made many conclude, that he resolved to abandon Poland; but he laid another design, which was executed to his mind, though, in the sequel, it proved not much to his advantage: Sobieski and his brother were in a correspondence with the party in Poland that opposed the King; upon which they ought to have

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looked to their own security with more precaution: they, it seems, apprehended nothing where they then were, and so diverted themselves at hunting, and otherwise in their usual manner; upon this some sent by the King of Poland took them both prisoners, and brought them to Dresden, where they were safely kept; and all the remonstrances that the Emperor could make, upon such an act of hostility, had no effect. This, for a while, broke their measures at Warsaw: many forsook them, while the King of Sweden seemed implacable in his opposition to Augustus; whose chief confidence was in the Czar. It was suspected that the French had a management in this matter, since it was certain that, by the war in Poland, a great part of that force was diverted, which might otherwise have been engaged in the common cause of the great alliance. All the advices that we had from thence agreed in this, that the King of Sweden himself was in no understanding with the French; but it was visible, that what he did contributed not a little to serve their ends. This was the state of affairs at land.

Affairs at
sea.

I turn next to another element, and to give an account of the operations at sea, where things were ill designed, and worse executed: the making Prince George our lord high admiral proved, in many instances, very unhappy to the nation: men of bad designs imposed on him; he understood those matters very little; and they sheltered themselves under his name, to which a great submission was paid: but the complaints rose the higher for that. Our main fleet was ready to go out in May, but the Dutch fleet was not yet come over; so Rook was sent out to alarm the coast of France: he lingered long in port, pretending ill health; upon that Churchill was sent to command the fleet; but Rook's health returned happily for him, or he thought fit to lay aside that pretence, and went to sea, where he continued a month; but in such a station, as if his design had been to keep far from meeting the French fleet, which sailed out at that time; and to do the enemy no harm, not so much as to disturb their quiet, by coming near their coast: at last he returned, without having attempted any thing.

It was after this resolved to send a strong fleet into the Mediterranean: it was near the end of June before they

were ready to sail, and they had orders to come out of the streights, by the end of September: every thing was so ill laid in this expedition, as if it had been intended, that nothing should be done by it, besides the convoying our merchant ships; which did not require the fourth part of such a force. Shovel was sent to command: when he saw his instructions, he represented to the ministry, that nothing could be expected from this voyage: he was ordered to go, and he obeyed his orders: he got to Leghorn by the beginning of September. His arrival seemed to be of great consequence, and the allies began to take courage from it; but they were soon disappointed of their hopes, when they understood, that by his orders he could only stay a few days there: nor was it easy to imagine, what the design of so great an expedition could be, or why so much money was thrown away on such a project, which made us despised by our enemies, while it provoked our friends; who might justly think, they could not depend upon such an ally, who managed so great a force with so poor a conduct, as neither to hurt their enemies, nor protect their friends by it.

A squadron was sent to the West Indies, commanded by Graydon; a man brutal in his way, and not well affected to the present state of affairs: the design was, to gather all the forces that we had scattered up and down the plantations, and with that strength to go and take Placentia, and so to drive the French out of the Newfoundland trade: but the secret of this was so ill kept, that it was commonly talked of before he sailed: the French had timely notice of it, and sent a greater force, to defend the place, than he could bring together to attack it. His orders were pressing, in particular, that he should not go out of his way, to pursue any of the enemy's ships, whom he might see: these he observed so punctually, that when he saw a squadron of four French men of war sailing towards Brest, that were visibly foul, and in no condition to make any resistance, he sent indeed one of his ships to view them, who engaged them, but Graydon gave the signal to call him off; upon which they got safe into Brest. This was afterwards known to be Du Casse's squadron, who was bringing treasure home from Carthage, and other ports of the West Indies, reported to be four millions of pieces of eight: but though here was a good prey lost, yet so careful was the Prince's council to

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A fleet sent
into the
Mediterra-
nean.

Another to
the West
Indies.

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They re-
turned with-
out success.

excuse every thing done by such a man, that they ordered an advertisement to be put in the gazette, to justify Graydon; in which it was said, that pursuant to his orders, he had not engaged that fleet. The orders were indeed strangely given, yet our admirals had never thought themselves so bound down to them, but that, upon great occasions, they might make stretches; especially where the advantage was visible, as it was in this case: for since they were out of the way of new orders, and new occasions might happen, which could not be known, when their orders were given, the nature of the service seemed to give them a greater liberty, than was fit to be allowed in the land service. When he came to the plantations, he acted in so savage a manner, as if he had been sent rather to terrify, than to protect them: when he had drawn the forces together, that were in the plantations, he went to attack Placentia; but he found it to be so well defended, that he did not think fit so much as to make any attempt upon it: so this expedition ended very ingloriously, and many complaints of Graydon's conduct were sent after him.

Our fleets
were ill
victualled.

There was also a great complaint through the whole fleet of their victualling: we lost many of our seamen, who, as was said, were poisoned by ill food: and though great complaints were made of the victuallers, before the fleet went out, yet there was not such care taken to look into it, as a matter of that consequence deserved. The merchants did also complain, that they were ill served with convoys, and so little care had been taken of the Newcastle fleet, that the price of coals rose very high: it was also said, that there was not a due care had of our seamen, that were taken by the privateers; many of them died by reason of their ill usage, while others, to deliver themselves from that, went into the French service. Thus all our marine affairs were much out of order, and these disorders were charged on those who had the conduct of them: every thing was unprosperous, and that will always be laid heavily on those, who are in the management of affairs: it is certain, that in the beginning of this reign, all those who hated the late King and his government, or had been dismissed the service by him, were sought out, and invited into employments: so it was not to be expected, that they could be faithful or cordial in the war against France.

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 The affairs
of Scotland.

The affairs of Scotland come next to be related: a new parliament was called, and many were chosen to serve in it, who were believed to be in secret engagements with the court at St. Germain: the lords who had hitherto kept out of parliament, and were known to be jacobites, came and qualified themselves, by taking the oaths, to vote in parliament: it was set up for a maxim, by the new ministry, that all the jacobites were to be invited home; so a proclamation was issued out, of a very great extent, indemnifying all persons, for all treasons committed before April last; without any limitation of time for their coming home, to accept of this grace, and without demanding any security of them for the future. The Duke of Queensberry was sent down the Queen's commissioner to the parliament: this inflamed all those who had formerly opposed him: they resolved to oppose him still in every thing, and the greater part of the jacobites joined with them, but some of them were bought off, as was said, by him: he, seeing so strong an opposition formed against him, studied to engage the presbyterian party to stick to him; and even the party that united against him, were so apprehensive of the strength of that interest, that they likewise studied to court them, and were very careful not to give them any umbrage. By this, all the hopes of the episcopal party were lost; and every thing relating to the church did not only continue in the same state in which it was during the former reign, but the presbyterians got a new law in their favour, which gave them as firm a settlement, and as full a security, as law could give; for an act passed, not only confirming the claim of rights, upon which the crown had been offered to the late King, one of its articles being against prelacy, and for a parity in the church, but it was declared high treason to endeavour any alteration of it. It had been often proposed to the late King, to pass this into an act, but he would never consent to it: he said, he had taken the crown on the terms in that claim, and that therefore he would never make a breach on any part of it; but he would not bind his successors, by making it a perpetual law. Thus a ministry, that carried all matters relating to the church to so great a height, yet, with other views, gave a fatal stroke to the episcopal interest in Scotland, to which the late King would never give way. The great debates in this session were

 Presbytery
was con-
firmed.

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Debates
concerning
the succe-
sion to the
crown.

concerning the succession of the crown, in case the Queen should die without issue. They resolved to give the preference to that debate, before they would consider the supplies: it was soon resolved, that the successor to the crown after the Queen, should not be the same person that was King or Queen of England, unless the just rights of the nation should be declared in parliament, and fully settled in an independance upon English interests and councils. After this, they went to name particulars, which by some were carried so far, that those expedients were indeed the setting up a commonwealth, with the empty name of a king: for it was proposed, that the whole administration should be committed to a council, named by parliament, and that the legislature should be entirely in the parliament, by which no shadow of power was left with the crown, and it was merely a nominal thing: but the further entering upon expedients was laid aside for that time, only one act passed, that went a great way towards them: it was declared, that no succeeding king should have the power to engage the nation in a war, without consent of parliament. Another act of a strange nature passed, allowing the importation of French goods, which, as was pretended, were to be imported in the ships of a neutral state. The truth was, the revenue was so exhausted, that they had not enough to support the government without such help: those who desired to drink good wine, and all who were concerned in trade, ran into it; so it was carried, though with great opposition: the jacobites also went into it, since it opened a free correspondence with France: it was certainly against the public interest of the government, in opposition to which private interest will often prevail. The court of St. Germain, perceiving such a disjointing in Scotland, and so great an opposition made in parliament, was from thence encouraged to set all their emissaries in that kingdom at work, to engage both the chief of the nobility, and the several tribes in the highlands, to be ready to appear for them. One Frazier had gone through the highlands the former year, and from thence he went to France, where he pretended he had authority from the highlanders, to undertake to bring together a body of twelve thousand men, if they might be assisted by some force, together with officers, arms, ammunition, and money from France. After he had delivered this mes-

sage to the Queen at St. Germain's, she recommended him to the French ministers: so he had some audiences of them.

He proposed that five thousand men should be sent from Dunkirk, to land near Dundee, with arms for twenty thousand men; and that five hundred should be sent from Brest to seize on Fort William, which commanded the great pass in the highlands. The French hearkened to all this, but would not venture much upon slight grounds, so they sent him back with some others, in whom they confided more, to see how much they might depend on, and what the strength of the highlanders was: they were also ordered, to try whether any of the great nobility of that kingdom would engage in the design.

When these came over, Frazier got himself secretly introduced to the Duke of Queensberry, to whom he discovered all that had been already transacted: and he undertook to discover the whole correspondence between St. Germain's and the Jacobites. He also named many of the lords who opposed him most in parliament, and said, they were already deeply engaged. The Duke of Queensberry hearkened very willingly to all this, and he gave him a pass to go through the highlands again, where he found some were still very forward, but others were more reserved. At his return, he resolved to go back to France, and promised to make a more entire discovery. He put one letter in the Duke of Queensberry's hands, from the Queen at St. Germain's, directed on the back (but by another hand) to the Marquis of Athol: the letter was writ in such general terms, that it might have been directed to any of the great nobility: and probably he who was trusted with it, had power given him to direct it to any, to whom he found it would be most acceptable: for there was nothing in the letter that was particular to any one person or family; it only mentioned the promises and assurances sent to her by that lord. This Frazier had been accused of a rape, committed on a sister of the Lord Athol, for which he was convicted and outlawed: so it might be supposed, that he, to be revenged of the Lord Athol, who had prosecuted him for that crime, might put his name on the back of that letter. It is certain, that the others who were more trusted, and were sent over with him, avoided his company, so that he was not made acquainted with that

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Practices
from
France.

A discovery
made of
these.

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proceeding. Frazier came up to London in winter, and had some meetings with the practising jacobites about the town, to whom he discovered his negotiation. He continued still to persuade the Duke of Queensberry of his fidelity to him: his name was not told the Queen, for when the Duke of Queensberry wrote to her an account of the discovery, he added, that unless she commanded it, he had promised not to name the person, for he was to go back to St. Germain's to complete the discovery. The Queen did not ask his name; but had more regard to what he said, because in the main it agreed with the intelligence that her ministers had from their spies at Paris. The Duke of Queensberry procured a pass for him to go to Holland; but by another name: for he opened no part of this matter to the Earl of Nottingham, who gave the pass. The jacobites in London suspected Frazier's correspondence with the Duke of Queensberry, and gave advertisement to the Lord Athol, and by this means the whole matter broke out, as shall be told afterwards. What influence soever this, or any other practice, might have in Scotland, it is certain the opposition in parliament grew still greater; and since the Duke of Queensberry would not suffer them to proceed in those strange limitations upon the crown, that had been proposed, though the Queen ordered him to pass the other bills, they would give no supply; so that the pay of the army, with the charge of the government, was to run upon credit, and by this means matters there were like to come to extremities. A national humour of rendering themselves a free and independent kingdom did so inflame them, that as they had a majority of seventy in parliament, they seemed capable of the most extravagant things that could be suggested to them. The greatest part of the ministry forsook the Duke of Queensberry in parliament; both the Earl of Seafield, lord chancellor, the Marquis of Athol, the lord privy seal, and Lord Tarbet, the secretary of state, with all that depended on them, broke off from him: yet, upon the conclusion of the session, Athol was made a duke, and Tarbet was made Earl of Cromarty, which looked like rewarding them for their opposition. Soon after that, the Queen resolved to revive the order of the thistle, that had been raised by her father, but was let fall by the late King: it was to be carried in a green ribbon, as the

George is in a blue, and the glory was in the form of a St. Andrew's cross, with a thistle in the middle. Argyle, Athol, Annandale, Orkney, and Seafield, were the first that had it, the number being limited to twelve. And to such a height did the disorders in that kingdom rise, that great skill and much secret practice seemed necessary to set matters right there. The aversion and jealousy towards those who had been most active in the last reign, and the favour shewed to those who were in King James's interests, had an appearance of bringing matters out of an excess, to a temper: and it was much magnified by those who intended to flatter the Queen, on design to ruin her: though the same measures were taken in England, yet there was less danger in following them here than there. Errors might be sooner observed, and easier corrected, where persons are in view, and are watched in all their motions; but this might prove fatal at a greater distance, where it was more easy to deny or palliate things with great assurance. The Duke of Queensberry's engrossing all things to himself, increased the disgust at the credit he was in. He had begun a practice of drawing out the sessions of parliament to an unusual length; by which his appointments exhausted so much of the revenue, that the rest of the ministers were not paid, and that will always create discontent. He trusted entirely to a few persons, and his conduct was liable to just exceptions. Some of those who had the greatest credit with him, were believed to be engaged in a foreign interest, and his passing, or rather promoting the act, that opened a correspondence with France, was considered as a design to settle a commerce there: and upon that, his fidelity or his capacity were much questioned.

There were still high discontents in Ireland, occasioned by the behaviour of the trustees there. The Duke of Ormond was the better received, when he went to that government, because he came after the Earl of Rochester; till it appeared, that he was in all things governed by him; and that he pursued the measures which he had begun to take, of raising new divisions in that kingdom: for, before that time, the only division in Ireland was, that of English and Irish, protestants and papists: but of late an animosity came to be raised there, like that we labour under in England, between whig and tory. The wiser sort of the English

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Reflections  
on the con-  
duct of af-  
fairs there.

The affairs  
of Ireland.



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resolved to oppose this all they could, and to proceed with temper and moderation. The parliament there was opened with speeches and addresses, that carried the compliments to the Duke of Ormond so far, as if no other person besides himself could have given them that settlement, which they expected from his government. The trustees had raised a scandal upon that nation, as if they designed to set up an independance upon England; so they began the sessions with a vote, disclaiming that as false and injurious. They expressed, on all occasions, their hatred of the trustees and of their proceedings, yet they would not presume to meddle with any thing they had done, pursuant to the act that had passed in England, which vested the trust in them. They offered the necessary supplies, but took exceptions to the accounts that were laid before them, and observed some errors in them. This begat an uneasiness in the Duke of Ormond; for though he was generous, and above all sordid practices, yet, being a man of pleasure, he was much in the power of those who acted under him, and whose integrity was not so clear. One great design of the wiser among them was, to break the power of popery, and the interest that the heads of the Irish families had among them.

An act passed there  
against popery.

They enacted the succession of the crown, to follow the pattern set them by England in every particular. They also passed an act concerning papists, somewhat like that which had passed in England three years before; but with some more effectual clauses, for the want of which we have not yet had any fruit from our act. The main difference was that which made it look less invidious, and yet was more effectual, for breaking the dependance on the heads of families; for it was provided, that all estates should be equally divided among the children of papists, notwithstanding any settlements to the contrary, unless the persons, on whom they were settled, qualified themselves by taking the oaths, and coming to the communion of the church. This seemed to carry no hardship to the family in general, and yet gave hopes of weakening that interest so considerably, that the bill was offered to the Duke of Ormond, pressing him, with more than usual vehemence, to intercede so effectually, that it might be returned back under the great seal of England. They understood that the papists of Ireland had raised a considerable sum, to be

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sent over to England, to support their practices, in order to the stopping this bill. It came over, warmly recommended by the Duke of Ormond; but it was as warmly opposed by those who had a mind to have a share in the presents, that were ready to be made. The pretence for opposing it was, that while the Queen was so deeply engaged with the Emperor, and was interceding for favour to the protestants in his dominions; it seemed not seasonable, and was scarce decent, to pass so severe a law against those of his religion. Though this had the less strength, since it was very evident that all the Irish papists were in the French interest, so there was no reason to apprehend that the Emperor could be much concerned for them. The parliament of England was sitting when this bill came over, and men's eyes were much set on the issue of it. So that the ministers judged it was not safe to deny it; but a clause was added, which they hoped would hinder its being accepted in Ireland. That matter was carried on so secretly, that it was known to none but those who were at the council, till the news of it came from Ireland, upon its being sent thither. The clause was to this purport, that none in Ireland should be capable of any employment, or of being in the magistracy in any city, who did not qualify themselves by receiving the sacrament, according to the test act passed in England; which before this time had never been offered to the Irish nation. It was hoped, by those who got this clause to be added to the bill, that those in Ireland who promoted it most, would now be the less fond of it, when it had such a weight hung to it: the greatest part of Ulster was possessed by the Scotch, who adhered stiffly to their first education in Scotland: and they were so united in that way, that it was believed they could not find such a number of men, who would qualify themselves, as was necessary by this clause, to maintain the order and justice of the country. Yet upon this occasion the Irish parliament proceeded with great caution and wisdom: they reckoned that this act, so far as it related to papists, would have a certain and great effect for their common security: and that when it was once passed, it would never be repealed: whereas if great inconveniences did arise upon this new clause, it would be an easier thing to obtain a repeal of it in a subsequent parliament, either of England or Ireland. So the act was



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passed, and those who thought they had managed the matter with a master-piece of cunning, were outwitted by an Irish parliament. However, this artifice, and some other things in the Duke of Ormond's conduct, put them into such an ill humour, that the supply bill was clogged and lessened by many clauses added to it. The session ended in so much heat, that it was thought that parliament would meet no more, if the Duke of Ormond was continued in the government.

Jealousies  
of the mi-  
nistry.

Thus the parts of the government that were thought the most easily managed, Scotland and Ireland, had of late been put into so much disorder, that it might prove no easy work to set them again in order: the government was every where going, as it were, out of joint: its nerves and strength seemed to be much slackened: the trusting and employing, not only violent tories, but even known jacobites, as it brought a weakness on the management, so it raised a jealousy that could not be easily cured. Stories were confidently vented, and by some easily believed, that the Queen was convinced of the wrong done her pretended brother, and that she was willing to put affairs in the hands of persons who favoured his succession: it was also observed, that our court kept too cold civilities with the house of Hanover, and did nothing that was tender or cordial looking that way: nor were any employed, who had expressed a particular zeal for their interests. These things gave great jealousy: all that was said in excuse for trusting such persons was, that it was fit once to try if good usage could soften them, and bring them entirely into the Queen's interests: and assurances were given, that if, upon a trial, the effect hoped for did not follow, they should be again dismissed.

This was the state of our affairs when a new session of parliament was opened in November: the Queen in her speech expressed a great zeal for carrying on the war, and with relation to the affairs of Europe: she recommended union and good agreement to all her people: she said, she wanted words to express how earnestly she desired this. This was understood, as an intimation of her desire, that there should be no further proceedings in the bill against occasional conformity: addresses full of respect were made to the Queen, in return to her speech; and the Lords, in

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theirs, promised to avoid every thing that should occasion disunion or contention: but nothing could lay the heat of a party, which was wrought on by some, who had designs that were to be denied or disguised, till a proper time for owning them should appear. A motion was made in the House of Commons, for bringing in the bill against occasional conformity: great opposition was made to it; the court was against it, but it was carried by a great majority, that such a bill should be brought in. So a new draught was formed: in it the preamble that was in the former bill was left out. The number besides the family, that made a conventicle, was enlarged from five to twelve: and the fine set on those, who went to conventicles, after they had received the sacrament, besides the loss of their employment, was brought down to 50*l*.: these were artifices, by which it was hoped, upon such softenings, once to carry the bill on any terms: and when that point was gained, it would be easy afterwards to carry other bills of greater severity. There was now such a division upon this matter, that it was fairly debated in the House of Commons: whereas before, it went there with such a torrent, that no opposition to it could be hearkened to. Those who opposed the bill went chiefly upon this ground, that this bill put the dissenters in a worse condition than they were before: so it was a breach made upon the toleration, which ought not to be done, since they had not deserved it by any ill behaviour of theirs, by which it could be pretended that they had forfeited any of the benefits designed by that act: things of this kind could have no effect, but to embroil us with new distractions, and to disgust persons well affected to the Queen and her government: it was necessary to continue the happy quiet that we were now in, especially in this time of war, in which even the severest of persecutors made their stops, for fear of irritating ill humours too much. The old topics of hypocrisy, and of the danger the church was in, were brought up again on behalf of the bill, and the bill passed in the House of Commons by a great majority: and so it was sent up to the Lords, where it occasioned one debate of many hours, whether the bill should be entertained and read a second time, or be thrown out: the Prince appeared no more for it, nor did he come to the House upon this occasion: some who had voted

A bill  
against oc-  
casional  
conformity

Passed by  
the Com-  
mons.

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But reject-  
ed by the  
Lords.

for it in the former session kept out of the House, and others owned they saw farther into the design of the bill, and so voted against it. Upon a division it was carried, by a majority of twelve, not to give it a second reading, but to reject it.

The bishops were almost equally divided: there were two more against it, than for it: among these, I had the largest share of censure on me, because I spoke much against the bill: I knew how the act of test was carried, as has been already shewn in its proper place: I related that in the House, and the many practices of the papists, of setting us of the church against the dissenters, and the dissenters against us by turns, as it might serve their ends: I ventured to say, that a man might lawfully communicate with a church, that he thought had a worship and a doctrine uncorrupted, and yet communicate more frequently with a church, that he thought more perfect: I myself had communicated with the churches of Geneva and Holland, and yet at the same time communicated with the church of England: so, though the dissenters were in a mistake, as to their opinion, which was the more perfect church, yet, allowing them a toleration in that error, this practice might be justified. I was desired to print what I said upon that occasion, which drew many virulent pamphlets upon me, but I answered none of them: I saw the jacobites designed to raise such a flame among us, as might make it scarce possible to carry on the war; those who went not so deep, yet designed to make a breach on the toleration by gaining this point: and I was resolved never to be silent, when that should be brought into debate: for I have long looked on liberty of conscience as one of the rights of human nature, antecedent to society, which no man could give up, because it was not in his own power: and our Saviour's rule, of doing as we would be done by, seemed to be a very express decision to all men, who would lay the matter home to their own conscience, and judge as they would willingly be judged by others.

The clergy  
out of hu-  
mour.

The clergy over England, who were generally inflamed with this matter, could hardly forgive the Queen and the Prince, the coldness that they expressed on this occasion: the Lord Godolphin did so positively declare that he thought the bill unseasonable, and that he had done all he



could to hinder its being brought in, that though he voted to give the bill a second reading, that did not reconcile the party to him: they set up the Earl of Rochester as the only man to be depended on, who deserved to be the chief minister.

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The House of Commons gave all the supplies that were necessary for carrying on the war: some tried to tack the bill against occasional conformity to the bill of supply, but they had not strength to carry it. The Commons shewed a very unusual neglect of all that related to the fleet, which was wont to be one of their chief cares: it was surmised, that they saw, that if they opened that door, discoveries would be made of errors that could neither be justified nor palliated, and that these must come home chiefly to their greatest favourites; so they avoided all examinations, that would probably draw some censure on them.

The Commons vote all the necessary supplies.

The Lords were not so tender: they found great fault with the counsels, chiefly with the sending Shovel to the Mediterranean, and Graydon to the West Indies: and laid all the discoveries that were made to them, with their own observations on them, before the Queen, in addresses that were very plain, though full of all due respect. They went on likewise in their examinations of the outcry made of the waste of the public treasure in the last reign: they examined the Earl of Orford's accounts, which amounted to 17,000,000*l.*, and upon which some observations had been made by the commissioners for examining the public accounts; they found them all to be false in fact, or ill-grounded, and of no importance.

Inquiries into the conduct of the fleet.

The only particular that seemed to give a just colour to exception, was very strictly examined: he had victualled the fleet while they lay all winter at Cadiz: the purser's receipts for the quantity that was laid into every ship, were produced, but they had no receipts of the Spaniards, from whom they had bought the provisions; but they had entered the prices of them in their own books, and these were given in upon oath. This matter had been much canvassed in the late King's time, and it stood thus: Russel, now Earl of Orford, when he had been ordered to lie at Cadiz, wrote to the board of victualling, to send one over to provide the fleet; they answered, that their credit was then so low, that they could not undertake it: so he was desired to do it upon his own credit. It appeared, that no fleet nor

The Earl of Orford's accounts justified.

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single ship had ever been victualled so cheap, as the fleet was then by him: it was not the custom in Spain to give receipts; but if any fraud had been intended, it would have been easy to have got the Spaniards, after they had their money, to have signed any receipts that could have been offered them for swelling up the accounts; for the practices of swelling accounts, in their dealings with their own court, were well known there. Upon these reasons, the Lords of the Treasury had passed his accounts, and were of opinion that he had done a great service to the government, in that whole transaction. The House of Lords did now confirm this, and ordered an account of that whole matter to be printed.

The Commons made no progress in any discoveries of ill practices in the Earl of Ranelagh's office, but concluded that matter with an address to the Queen, that she would order a prosecution. This was an artifice to make the nation still think, that great discoveries of corruption might be made, if carefully looked after. It was expected, after such an outcry as they had made, and after the expense the nation was put to, for this commission, and the extraordinary powers that were lodged with the commissioners, that at least some important discoveries should have been made by them.

A bill for examining the public accounts lost between the two houses.

The Commons sent up a bill to the Lords, for continuing the commission another year: it was observed that an alteration was made of the persons; some, who expected better places, got their names to be left out. The Lords excepted to one Bierly, who was named to be one of the commissioners, because he had been made a colonel, and had not yet cleared the accounts of his own regiment: so they struck out his name, and named another; and they added two more, who were not members of the House of Commons. The reason of this was, because the members of that House would not appear before them, to explain some particulars; they only sent their clerk to inform them, and when the Lords sent a message to the House of Commons, to desire them to order their members to attend on their committee, all the return they had was, that they would send an answer by messengers of their own; but this was illusory, for they sent no such message. So the Lords thought it necessary, in order to their being better informed,



to put some in commission for the future, who should be bound to attend upon them, as oft as they should be called for. The Commons rejected these amendments, and pretended that this was of the nature of a money bill, and that therefore the Lords could make no alterations in it. The message that the Commons sent the Lords upon this head, came so near the end of the session, that the Lords could not return an answer to it, with the reasons for which they insisted on their amendments; so that bill fell.

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The charge of this commission amounted to 8000*l.* a year: the commissioners made such noise, and brought many persons before them to be examined, and gave great disturbance to all the public offices, what by their attendance on them, what by copying out all their books for their perusal; and yet, in a course of many years, they had not made any one discovery: so a full stop was put to this way of proceeding.

An incident happened during this session, which may have great consequences, though in itself it might seem inconsiderable. There have been great complaints long made, and these have increased much within these few years, of great partiality and injustice in the elections of parliament men, both by sheriffs in counties, and by the returning officers in boroughs. In Aylesbury, the return was made by four constables, and it was believed, that they made a bargain with some of the candidates, and then managed the matter, so as to be sure that the majority should be for the person to whom they had engaged themselves; they canvassed about the town to know how the voters were set, and they resolved to find some pretence for disabling those who were engaged to vote for other persons than their friends, that they might be sure to have the majority in their own hands; and when this matter came to be examined by the House of Commons, they gave the election always for him who was reckoned of the party of the majority, in a manner so barefaced, that they were scarce out of countenance when they were charged for injustices in judging elections. It was not easy to find a remedy to such a crying abuse, of which all sides in their turns, as they happened to be depressed, had made great complaints; but when they came to be the majority, seemed to have

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A dispute concerning injustice in the elections of members of parliament.

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forgot all that they had formerly cried out on. Some few excused this on the topic of retaliation; they said they dealt with others as they had dealt with them or their friends. At last an action was brought against the constables of Aylesbury, at the suit of one who had been always admitted to vote in former elections, but was denied it in the last election. This was tried at the assizes, and it was found there by the jury, that the constables had denied him a right, of which he was undoubtedly in possession; so they were to be cast in damages: but it was moved in the Queen's Bench to quash all the proceedings in that matter, since no action did lie, or had ever been brought upon that account. Powel, Gould, and Powis were of opinion, that no hurt was done the man: that the judging of elections belonged to the House of Commons: that as this action was the first of its kind, so, if it was allowed, it would bring on an infinity of suits, and put all the officers concerned in that matter upon great difficulties. Lord Chief Justice Holt, though alone, yet differed from the rest; he thought this was a matter of the greatest importance, both to the whole nation in general, and to every man in his own particular; he made a great difference between an election of a member, and a right to vote in such an election; the House of Commons were the only judges of the former, whether it was rightly managed or not, without bribery, fraud, or violence; but the right of voting in an election was an original right, founded either on a freehold of 40s. a year in the county, or on burgageland, or upon a prescription, or by charter in a borough: these were all legal titles, and as such were triable in a court of law. Acts of parliament were made concerning them, and by reason of these, every thing relating to those acts, was triable in a court of law: he spoke long and learnedly, and with some vehemence upon the subject; but he was one against three, so the order of the court went in favour of the constables: the matter was upon that brought before the House of Lords, by a writ of error; the case was very fully argued at the bar, and the judges were ordered to deliver their opinions upon it, which they did very copiously.

Chief Justice Trevor insisted much on the authority that the House of Commons had, to judge of all those elections; from that he inferred, that they only could judge who

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were the electors : petitions were often grounded on this, that in the poll some were admitted to a vote, who had no right to it, and that others were denied it who had a right ; so that in some cases they were the proper judges of this right ; and if they had it in some cases, they must have it in all : from this he inferred, that every thing relating to this matter was triable by them, and by them only ; if two independent jurisdictions might have the same case brought before them, they might give contrary judgments in it ; and this must breed great distraction in the execution of those judgments.

To all this it was answered, that a single man, who was wronged in this matter, had no other remedy but by bringing it into a court of law ; for the House of Commons could not examine the right of every voter ; if the man, for whom he would have voted, was returned, he could not be heard to complain to the House of Commons, though in his own particular he was denied a vote, since he could not make any exceptions to the return ; so he must bear his wrong, without a remedy, if he could not bring it into a court of law. A right of voting in an election was the greatest of all the rights of an Englishman, since by that he was represented in parliament ; the House of Commons could give no relief to a man wronged in this, nor any damages ; they could only set aside one, and admit of another return ; but this was no redress to him that suffered the wrong : it made him to be the less considered in his borough, and that might be a real damage to him in his trade : since this was a right inherent in a man, it seemed reasonable that it should be brought, where all other rights were tried, into a court of law ; the abuse was new, and was daily growing, and it was already swelled to a great height ; when new disorders happen, new actions must lie, otherwise there is a failure in justice, which all laws abhor ; practices of this sort were enormous and crying ; and if the judgment in the Queen's Bench was affirmed, it would very much increase these disorders by this indemnity, that seemed to be given to the officers who took the poll.

After a long debate, it was carried by a great majority to set aside the order in the Queen's Bench, and to give judgment according to the verdict given at the assizes.

The Lords judge that the right of electing was



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 triable at  
 law.

This gave great offence to the House of Commons, who passed very high votes upon it against the man of Aylesbury, as guilty of a breach of their privileges, and against all others who should for the future bring any such suits into courts of law; and likewise against all counsel, attorneys, and others, who should assist in any such suits; and they affirmed, that the whole matter relating to elections belonged only to them: yet they did not think fit to send for the man who had sued, or rather in whose name the suit was carried on: so they let the matter as to him fall, under a shew of moderation and pity, and let it rest upon those general votes. The Lords on their part ordered the whole state of the case to be drawn up and printed, which was done with much learning and judgment; they also asserted the right that all the people of England had to seek for justice in courts of law upon all such occasions; and that the House of Commons, by their votes, struck at the liberties of the people, at the law of England, and at the judicature of the House of Lords; and they ordered the lord keeper to send a copy of the case, and of their votes, to all the sheriffs of England, to be communicated to all the boroughs in their counties. The House of Commons was much provoked with this, but they could not hinder it; the thing was popular, and the Lords got great credit by the judgment they gave, which let the people of England see how they might be redressed for the future, if they should meet with the injustice, partiality, and other ill practices, that had appeared of late in elections, even beyond the examples of former times. This may prove a restraint on the officers, now that they see they are liable to be sued, and that a vote of the House of Commons cannot cover them.

The Queen  
 gave the  
 tenths and  
 first-fruits  
 for the be-  
 nefit of the  
 poor clergy.

During the session, and on her own birth-day, which was the 6th of February, the Queen sent a message to the House of Commons, signifying her purpose to apply that branch of the revenue that was raised out of the first fruits and tenths, paid by the clergy, to the increase of all the small benefices in the nation: this branch was an imposition, begun by the popes in the time of the holy wars, and it was raised as a fund to support those expeditions; but when taxes are once raised by such an arbitrary power as the popes then assumed, and after there has been a submission, and the payments have been settled into a custom

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they are always continued, even after the pretence, upon which they were at first raised, subsists no more: so this became a standing branch of the papal revenue, till Henry the Eighth seemed resolved to take it away. It was first abolished for a year, probably to draw in the clergy to consent the more willingly to a change that delivered them from such heavy impositions; but, in the succeeding session of parliament, this revenue was again settled as part of the income of the crown for ever. It is true, it was the more easily borne, because the rates were still at the old value, which, in some places, was not the tenth, and in most not above the fifth part of the true value: and the clergy had been often threatened with a new valuation, in which the rates should be rigorously set to their full extent.

The tenths amounted to about 11,000*l.* a-year, and the first-fruits, which were more casual, rose, one year with another, to 5000*l.* so the whole amounted to between 16,000*l.* and 17,000*l.* a-year: this was not brought into the Treasury as the other branches of the revenue; but the bishops, who had been the Pope's collectors, were now the King's, so persons in favour obtained assignations on them for life or for a term of years: this had never been applied to any good use, but was still obtained by favourites for themselves and their friends: and, in King Charles the Second's time, it went chiefly among his women and his natural children. It seemed strange, that while the clergy had much credit at court, they had never represented this as sacrilege, unless it was applied to some religious purpose, and that during Archbishop Laud's favour with King Charles the First, or at the restoration of King Charles the Second, no endeavours had been used to appropriate this to better uses. Sacrilege was charged on other things on very slight grounds; but this, which was more visible, was always forgot.

When I wrote the History of the Reformation, I considered this matter so particularly, that I saw here was a proper fund for providing better subsistence to the poor clergy; we having among us some hundreds of cures, that have not of certain provision 20*l.* a-year, and some thousands that have not 50*l.* Where the encouragement is so small, what can it be expected clergymen should be? It is a crying scandal, that, at the restoration of King Charles



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the Second, the bishops and other dignitaries, who raised much above a million in fines, yet did so little this way. I had possessed the late Queen with this, so that she was fully resolved, if ever she had lived to see peace and settlement, to have cleared this branch of the revenue of all the assignations that were upon it, and to have applied it to the augmentation of small benefices. This is plainly insinuated in the essay that I wrote on her memory some time after her death. I laid the matter before the late King, when there was a prospect of peace, as a proper expression both of his thankfulness to Almighty God, and of his care of the church; I hoped that this might have gained the hearts of the clergy: it might at least have put a stop to a groundless clamour raised against him, that he was an enemy to the clergy, which began then to have a very ill effect on all his affairs. He entertained this so well, that he ordered me to speak to his ministers about it: they all approved it, the Lord Somers and the Lord Hallifax did it in a most particular manner: but the Earl of Sunderland obtained an assignation upon two dioceses for 2000*l.* a-year for two lives; so nothing was to be hoped for after that. I laid this matter very fully before the present Queen, in the King's time, and had spoke often of it to the Lord Godolphin.

This time was perhaps chosen to pacify the angry clergy, who were dissatisfied with the court, and began now to talk of the danger the church was in, as much as they had done during the former reign: this extraordinary mark of the Queen's piety and zeal for the church, produced many addresses full of compliments; but it has not yet had any great effect in softening the tempers of peevish men. When the Queen's message was brought to the House of Commons, some of the whigs, particularly Sir John Holland and Sir Joseph Jekyll, moved that the clergy might be entirely freed from that tax, since they bore as heavy a share of other taxes; and that another fund might be raised of the same value, out of which small benefices might be augmented; but this was violently opposed by Musgrave, and other tories, who said, the clergy ought to be kept still in a dependance on the crown.

An act passed about it.

Upon the Queen's message, a bill was brought in, enabling her to alienate this branch of the revenue, and to

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create a corporation by charter, to apply it to the use for which she now gave it: they added to this a repeal of the statute of Mortmain, so far as that it might be free to all men, either by deed or by their last wills, to give what they thought fit towards the augmenting of benefices. It was suggested, how truly I cannot tell, that this addition was made in hope that it would be rejected by the Lords, and that the scandal of losing the bill might lie on them, It occasioned a great debate in the House of Lords: it was said, that this law was made and kept up even during the times of popery, and it seemed not reasonable to open a door to practices upon dying men. It was answered, that we had not the arts of affrightening men by the terrors of purgatory, or by fables of apparitions: where these were practised, it was very reasonable to restrain priests from those artifices by which they had so enriched their church, that without some such effectual checks they would have swallowed up the whole wealth of the world, as they had indeed in England, during popery, made themselves masters of a full third part of the nation. The bishops were so zealous and unanimous for the bill, that it was carried and passed into a law. The Queen was pleased to let it be known, that the first motion of this matter came from me: such a project would have been much magnified at another time; and those who had promoted it would have been looked on as the truest friends of the church: but this did not seem to make any great impression at that time; only it produced a set of addresses, from all the clergy of England, full of thanks and just acknowledgments.

I come now, in the last place, to give the relation of the discoveries made of a plot which took up much of the Lords' time, and gave occasion to many sharp reflections, that passed between the two houses in their addresses to the Queen. About the same time that the story of Frazier's pass and negotiations began to break out, Sir John Macclean, a papist, and the head of that tribe or clan in the highlands and western isles of Scotland, came over from France in a little boat, and landed secretly at Folkstone in Kent: he brought his lady with him, though she had been delivered of a child but eleven days before. He was taken and sent up to London; and it seemed, by all circumstances, that he came over upon some important design:

A plot discovered.

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he pretended at first, that he came only to go through England and Scotland, and to take the benefit of the Queen's general pardon there : but when he was told that the pardon in Scotland was not a good warrant to come into England, and that it was high treason to come from France without a pass, he was not willing to expose himself to the severity of the law : so he was prevailed on to give an account of all that he knew concerning the negotiations between France and Scotland. Some others were, at the same time, taken up upon his information, and some upon suspicion ; among these there was one Keith, whose uncle was one of those who was most trusted by the court of St. Germans, and whom they had sent over with Frazier, to bring them an account of the temper the Scotch were in, upon which they might depend. Keith had been long at that court ; he had free access both to the Queen and Prince, and hoped they would have made him under-secretary for Scotland. For some time he denied that he knew any thing, but afterwards he confessed he was made acquainted with Frazier's transactions, and he undertook to deal with his uncle to come and discover all he knew ; and pretended there was no other design among them, but to lay matters so, that the Prince of Wales should reign after the Queen. Ferguson offered himself to make great discoveries : he said, Frazier was employed by the Duke of Queensberry, to decoy some into a plot, which he had framed, and intended to discover as soon as he had drawn many into the guilt : he affirmed that there was no plot among the jacobites, who were glad to see one of the race of the Stuarts on the throne ; and they designed, when the state of the war might dispose the Queen to a treaty with France, to get such terms given her as King Stephen and King Henry the Sixth had, to reign during her life. When I heard this, I could not but remember what the Duke of Athol had said to myself, soon after the Queen's coming to the crown : I said, I hoped none in Scotland thought of the Prince of Wales : he answered, he knew none that thought of him as long as the Queen lived : I replied, that if any thought of him after that, I was sure the Queen would live no longer than till they thought their designs for him were well laid : but he seemed to have no apprehensions of that. I presently told the Queen this, without naming the person,



and she answered me very quick, there was no manner of doubt of that: but though I could not but reflect often on that discourse, yet since it was said to me in confidence, I never spoke of it to any person, during all the inquiry, that was now on foot; but I think it too material not to set it down here. Ferguson was a man of a particular character. Upon the Revolution he had a very good place given him, but his spirit was so turned to plotting, that within a few months after he turned about, and he has been ever since the boldest and most active man of the jacobite party. He pretended he was now for high church, but many believed him a papist. There was matter of treason sworn both against him and Keith, but there was only one witness to it.

At the same time Lindsey was taken up; he had been under-secretary, first to the Earl of Melfort, and then to the Earl of Midletoun: he had carried over from France the letters and orders that gave rise to the Earl of Dundee's breaking out, the year after the Revolution; and he had been much trusted at St. Germain's: he had a small estate in Scotland, and he pretended that he took the benefit of the Queen's pardon, and had gone to Scotland to save that; and, being secured by this pardon, he thought he might come from Scotland to England, but he could pretend no colour for his coming to England; so it was not doubted, but that he came hither to manage their correspondence and intrigues. He pretended he knew of no designs against the Queen and her government; and that the court of St. Germain's, and the Earl of Midletoun, in particular, had no design against the Queen; but when he was shewed Frazier's commission to be a colonel, signed by the pretended King, and countersigned Midletoun, he seemed amazed at it; he did not pretend it was a forgery, but he said that things of that kind were never communicated to him.

At the same time that these were taken up, others were taken on the coast of Sussex; one of these, Boucher, was a chief officer in the Duke of Berwick's family, who was then going to Spain; but it was suspected that this was a blind to cover his going to Scotland. The House of Lords apprehended, that this man was sent on great designs, and suspecting a remissness in the ministry, in looking after and examining those who came from France, they made



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an address to the Queen, that Boucher might be well looked to: they did also order Sir John Macclean to be brought before them; but the Queen sent them a message, that Macclean's business was then in a method of examination, and that she did not think fit to alter that for some time: but as for Boucher, and those who were taken with him, the Earl of Nottingham told the House that they were brought up, and that they might do with them as they pleased: upon that the House sent back Macclean, and ordered the usher of the black rod to take the other prisoners into his custody, and they named a committee of seven lords to examine them. At this time, the Queen came to the parliament, and acquainted both houses, that she had unquestionable proofs of a correspondence between France and Scotland, with which she would acquaint them, when the examinations were taken.

Disputes  
between the  
two houses  
in addresses  
to the  
Queen.

The Commons were in an ill humour against the Lords, and so they were glad to find occasions to vent it. They thought the Lords ought not to have entered upon this examination; they complained of it as of a new and unheard-of thing, in an address to the Queen; they said it was an invasion of her prerogative, which they desired her to exert. This was a proceeding without a precedent; the parliamentary method was, when one House was offended with any thing done in the other, conferences were demanded, in which matters were freely debated; to begin an appeal to the throne was new, and might be managed by an ill-designing prince, so as to end in the subversion of the whole constitution; and it was an amazing thing, to see a House of Commons affirm, in so public a manner, and so positively, that the Lords taking criminals into their own custody, in order to an examination, was without warrant or precedent; when there were so many instances, fresh in every man's memory, especially since the time of the popish plot, of precedents in both houses, that went much further; of which a full search has been made, and a long list of them was read in the House of Lords. That did not a little confound those among them, who were believed to be in a secret correspondence with the House of Commons: they were forced to confess, that they saw the Lords had clear precedents to justify them in what they had done, of which they were in great doubt before.

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The Lords upon this made a very long address to the Queen, in which they complained of the ill usage they had met with from the House of Commons; they used none of those hard words, that were in the address, made against them by the House of Commons, yet they justified every step they had taken, as founded on the law and practice of parliament, and no way contrary to the duty and respect they owed the Queen. The behaviour of the House of Commons was such, on this occasion, as if they had no mind that plots should be narrowly looked into; no house of parliament, and indeed no court of judicature, did examine any person, without taking him into their own custody during such examination; and if a person's being in custody must restrain a house of parliament from examining him, here was a maxim laid down, by which bad ministers might cover themselves from any inquiry into their ill practices, only by taking the persons, who could make discoveries, into custody: the Lords also set forth the ill consequences that might follow, upon one house of parliament carrying their complaints of another to the throne, without taking first the proper method of conferences. This address was drawn with the utmost force, as well as beauty and decency of style; and was reckoned one of the best pieces of its kind that were in all the records of parliament. The Queen, in her answer, expressed a great concern to see such a dispute between the two houses.

Boucher, when he was examined, would confess nothing; he said, he was weary of living so long out of his country, and that having made some attempt to obtain a pass, when that was denied him, he chose, rather than to live always abroad, to come and cast himself upon the Queen's mercy: it did not seem reasonable to believe this; so the Lords made an address to the Queen, that he might have no hopes of pardon, till he was more sincere in his discoveries; and they prayed that he might be prosecuted on the statute: he confessed his crime, and was condemned, but continued still denying that he knew any thing: few could believe this; yet there being no special matter laid against him, his case was to be pitied: he proved, that he had saved the lives of many prisoners, during the war of Ireland, and that during the war in Flanders, he had been very careful of all English prisoners: when all this was laid before the Lords, they

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did not think fit to carry the matter farther; so he was re-prieved, and that matter slept.

About the end of January, the Queen sent the examinations of the prisoners to the two houses: the House of Commons heard them read, but passed no judgment upon them, nor did they offer any advice to the Queen, upon this occasion; they only sent them back to the Queen, with thanks for communicating them, and for her wisdom and care of the nation: it was thought strange, to see a business of this nature treated so slightly, by a body that had looked in former times more carefully to things of this kind; especially since it had appeared, in many instances, how dexterous the French were in raising distractions in their enemies' country: it was evident, that a negotiation was begun, and had been now carried on for some time, for an army that was to be sent from France to Scotland: upon this, which was the main of the discovery, it was very amazing to see, that the Commons neither offered the Queen any advice, nor gave her a vote of credit, for any extraordinary expense, in which the progress of that matter might engage her; a credit so given might have had a great effect, towards defeating the design, when it appeared how well the Queen was furnished to resist it: this coldness, in the House of Commons, gave great and just ground of suspicion, that those, who had the chief credit there, did not act heartily, in order to the defeating all such plots, but were willing to let them go on, without check or opposition.

The Lords ordered a secret examination of all who were suspected to be in this plot.

The Lords resolved to examine the whole matter narrowly: the Earl of Nottingham laid before them, an abstract of all the examinations the council had taken; but some took great exceptions to it, as drawn on design to make it appear more inconsiderable than they believed it to be: the substance of the whole was, that there went many messages between the courts of St. Germain's and Versailles, with relation to the affairs of Scotland; the court of Versailles was willing to send an army to Scotland, but they desired to be well assured of the assistance they might expect there; in order to which, some were sent over, according to what Frazier had told the Duke of Queensberry: some of the papers were writ in gibberish; so the Lords moved that a reward should be offered, to any who should decipher these. When the Lords asked the Earl of Not-



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tingham, if every thing was laid before them, he answered, that there was only one particular kept from them; because they were in hopes of a discovery, that was like to be of more consequence than all the rest: so after the delay of a few days, to see the issue of it, which was Keith's endeavouring to persuade his uncle (who knew every step that had been made, in the whole progress of this affair) to come in and discover it, when they were told there was no more of that, the Lords ordered the committee, which had examined Boucher, to examine into all these discoveries. Upon this, the Commons, who expressed a great uneasiness at every step the Lords made in the matter, went with a new address to the Queen, insisting on their former complaints against the proceedings of the Lords, as a wrestling the matter out of the Queen's hands, and the taking it wholly into their own; and they prayed the Queen to resume her prerogative, thus violated by the Lords, whose proceedings they affirmed to be without a precedent.

The seven lords went on with their examinations, and after some days they made a report to the House: Macclean's confession was the main thing: it was full and particular; he named the persons that sat in the council at St. Germain's: he said, the command was offered to the Duke of Berwick, which he declined to accept, till trial was made whether Duke Hamilton would accept of it, who he thought was the proper person: he told likewise, what directions had been sent to hinder the settling the succession in Scotland; none of which particulars were in the paper that the Earl of Nottingham had brought to the House of his confession. It was farther observed, that all the rest, whose examinations amounted to little, were obliged to write their own confessions, or at least to sign them: but Macclean had not done this; for after he had delivered his confession by word of mouth to the Earl of Nottingham, that lord wrote it all from his report, and read it to him the next day; upon which he acknowledged, it contained a full account of all he had said. Macclean's discovery to the lords was a clear series of all the counsels and messages, and it gave a full view of the debates and opinions in the council at St. Germain's, all which was omitted in that which was taken by the Earl of Nottingham, and his paper concerning it was both short and dark; there was an appearance of truth in



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all that Macclean told, and a regular progress was set forth in it.

Upon these observations, those lords, who were not satisfied with the Earl of Nottingham's paper, intended to have passed a censure upon it, as imperfect: it was said, in the debate that followed upon this motion, either Macclean was asked, who was to command the army to be sent into Scotland, or he was not; if he was asked the question, and had answered it, then the Earl of Nottingham had not served the Queen or used the parliament well, since he had not put it in the paper; if it was not asked, here was great remissness in a minister, when it was confessed, that the sending over an army was in consultation, not to ask who was to command that army. Upon this occasion, the Earl of Torrington made some reflections, that had too deep a venom in them: he said, the Earl of Nottingham did prove, that he had often read over the paper, in which he had set down Macclean's confession, in his hearing; and had asked him, if all he had confessed to him was not fully set down in that paper; to which he always answered, that every thing he had said was contained in it. Upon this, that Earl observed, that Macclean, having perhaps told his whole story to the Earl of Nottingham, and finding afterwards, that he had writ such a defective account of it, he had reason to conclude, (for he believed, had he been in his condition, he should have concluded so himself,) that the Earl of Nottingham had no mind, that he should mention any thing, but what he had writ down, and that he desired that the rest might be suppressed: he could not judge of others but by himself; if his life had been in danger, and if he were interrogated by a minister of state, who could do him either much good or much hurt, and if he had made a full discovery to him, but had observed that this minister, in taking his confession in writing, had omitted many things, he should have understood that, as an intimation that he was to speak of these things no more; and so he believed he should have said it was all, though at the same time he knew it was not all, that he had said. It was hereupon moved, that Macclean might be sent for and interrogated, but the party was not strong enough to carry any thing of that kind; and by a previous vote it was carried, to put no question concerning the Earl of Nottingham's paper.

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The Lords were highly offended with Ferguson's paper, and passed a severe vote against those lords who had received such a scandalous paper from him, and had not ordered him to be prosecuted upon it, which they directed the Attorney-General to do. It was apparent, there was a train of dangerous negotiations, that passed between Scotland and St. Germain's, though they could not penetrate into the bottom and depth of it: and the design of Keith's bringing in his uncle, was managed so remissly, that it was generally concluded that it was not in earnest desired it should succeed. During these debates, one very extraordinary thing happened:—the Earl of Nottingham did, upon three or four occasions, affirm, that something had been ordered in the cabinet council, which the Dukes of Somerset and Devonshire, who were likewise of that council, did not agree with him in.

After all these examinations and debates, the Lords concluded the whole matter, with voting that there had been dangerous plots between some in Scotland and the court of France and St. Germain's; and that the encouragement of this plotting came, from the not settling the succession to the crown of Scotland in the house of Hanover: these votes they laid before the Queen; and promised, that when this was done, they would endeavour to promote the union of the two kingdoms, upon just and reasonable terms.

The Lords' opinion upon the whole matter.

This being ended, they made a long and vigorous address, in answer to that which the Commons had made against them: they observed, how uneasy the Commons had been at the whole progress of their inquiry into this matter, and had taken methods to obstruct it all they could; which did not shew that zeal for the Queen's safety, and the preservation of the nation, to which all men pretended: they annexed to their address a list of many precedents, to shew what good warrants they had for every step they had made: they took not the examination to themselves, so as to exclude others who had the same right, and might have done it as well as they, if they had pleased: their proceedings had been regular and parliamentary, as well as full of zeal and duty to the Queen: they made severe observations on some of the proceedings in the House of Commons, particularly on their not ordering writs to be issued out for some boroughs, to proceed

An address justifying the proceeding of the Lords.

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to new elections, when they, upon pretence of corruption, had voted an election void; which had been practised of late, when it was visible that the election would not fall on the person they favoured. They charged this as a denial of justice, and of the right that such boroughs had to be represented in Parliament, and as an arbitrary and illegal way of proceeding: this address was penned with great care and much force. These addresses were drawn by the Lord Somers, and were read over, and considered and corrected very critically, by a few lords, among whom I had the honour to be called for one. This, with the other papers that were published by the Lords, made a great impression on the body of the nation: for the difference that was between these, and those published by the House of Commons, was indeed so visible, that it did not admit of any comparison, and was confessed even by those who were the most partial to them.

An act for  
recruits.

An act passed in this session, which may be of great advantage to the nation, if well executed; otherwise, since it is only enacted for one year, it will not be of much use: it empowers the justices of peace, or any three of them, to take up such idle persons, as have no callings nor means of subsistence, and to deliver them to the officers of the army, upon paying them the levy money, that is allowed for making recruits: the methods of raising these hitherto, by drinking and other bad practices, as they were justly odious, so they were now so well known, that they were no more of any effect: so that the army could not be recruited, but by the help of this act. And if this is well managed, it will prove of great advantage to the nation; since by this means they will be delivered from many vicious and idle persons, who are become a burthen to their country: and indeed there was of late years so great an increase of the poor, that their maintenance was become in most places a very heavy load, and amounted to the full half of the public taxes. The party in both houses, that had been all along cold and backward in the war, opposed this act with unusual vehemence; they pretended zeal for the public liberty, and the freedom of the person, to which, by the constitution, they said every Englishman had a right; which they thought could not be given away, but by a legal judgment, and for some crime. They thought this put



a power in the hands of justices of peace, which might be stretched and abused, to serve bad ends: thus men, that seemed engaged to an interest that was destructive to all liberty, could yet make use of that specious pretence to serve their purpose. The act passed, and has been continued from year to year, with a very good effect: only a visible remissness appears in some justices, who are secretly influenced by men of ill designs.

The chief objection made to it in the House of Lords was, that the justices of peace had been put in and put out, in so strange a manner, ever since Wright had the great seal, that they did not deserve so great a power should be committed to them: many gentlemen, of good estates, and antient families, had been of late put out of the commission, for no other visible reason, but because they had gone in heartily to the Revolution, and had continued zealous for the late King. This seemed done on design to mark them, and to lessen the interest they had in the elections of members of parliament: and at the same time, men of no worth nor estate, and known to be ill-affected to the Queen's title, and to the protestant succession, were put in, to the great encouragement of ill designing men: all was managed by secret accusations, and characters that were very partially given. Wright was a zealot to the party, and was become very exceptionable in all respects: money, as was said, did every thing with him; only in his court, I never heard him charged for any thing but great slowness, by which the Chancery was become one of the heaviest grievances of the nation. An address was made to the Queen complaining of the commissions of the peace, in which the Lords delivered their opinion, that such as would not serve, or act under the late King, were not fit to serve her Majesty.

With this the session of parliament was brought to a quiet conclusion, after much heat and a great deal of contention between the two houses: the Queen, as she thanked them for the supplies, so she again recommended union and moderation to them. These words, which had hitherto carried so good a sound that all sides pretended to them, were now become so odious to violent men, that even in sermons, chiefly at Oxford, they were arraigned as importing somewhat that was unkind to the church, and that fa-

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An address
concerning
the justices
of peace.

The ill tem-
per of many,
especially of
the clergy.

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voured the dissenters: the House of Commons had, during this session, lost much of their reputation, not only with fair and impartial judges, but even with those who were most inclined to favour them. It is true, the body of the freeholders began to be uneasy under the taxes, and to cry out for a peace: and most of the capital gentry of England, who had the most to lose, seemed to be ill-turned, and not to apprehend the dangers we were in, if we should fall under the power of France, and into the hands of the pretended Prince of Wales; or else they were so fatally blinded, as not to see that these must be the consequences of those measures in which they were engaged.

The universities, Oxford especially, have been very unhappily successful in corrupting the principles of those who were sent to be bred among them: so that few of them escaped the taint of it, and the generality of the clergy were not only ill-principled, but ill-tempered; they exclaimed against all moderation as endangering the church, though it is visible that the church is in no sort of danger, from either the numbers or the interest that the dissenters have among us, which by reason of the toleration is now so quieted, that nothing can keep up any heat in those matters, but the folly and bad humour that the clergy are possessed with, and which they infuse into all those with whom they have credit: but at the same time, though the great and visible danger that hangs over us is from popery, which a miscarriage in the present war must let in upon us, with an inundation not to be either resisted or recovered, they seem to be blind on that side, and to apprehend and fear nothing from that quarter.

The convocation did little this winter; they continued their former ill practices, but little opposition was made to them, as very little regard was had to them: they drew up a representation of some abuses in the ecclesiastical discipline, and in the consistorial courts; but took care to mention none of those greater ones, of which many among themselves were eminently guilty; such as pluralities, non-residence, the neglect of their cures, and the irregularities in the lives of the clergy, which were too visible.

The Duke of Marlborough went to Holland in winter.

Soon after the session was ended, the Duke of Marlborough went over to Holland. He had gone over for some weeks, at the desire of the states, in January, and then

there was a scheme formed for the operations of the next campaign. It was resolved that, instead of a fruitless one in the Netherlands, they would have a small army there, to lie only on the defensive, which was to be commanded by M. Auverquerque; but that, since the Rhine was open, by the taking of Bonne, all up to the Mozelle, their main army, that was to be commanded by the Duke of Marlborough, should act there: more was not understood to be designed, except by those who were taken into the confidence. Upon this, all the preparations for the campaign were ordered to be carried up to the Rhine; and so every thing was in readiness, when he returned back to them in April: the true secret was in few hands, and the French had no hint of it, and seemed to have no apprehensions about it.

The Earl of Nottingham was animated by the party, to press the Queen to dismiss the Dukes of Somerset and Devonshire from the cabinet council, at least that they might be called thither no more: he moved it often, but finding no inclination in the Queen to comply with his motion, he carried the signet to her, and told her, he could not serve any longer in councils to which these lords were admitted: but the Queen desired him to consider better of it. He returned next day, fixed in his first resolution, to which he adhered the more steadily, because the Queen had sent to the Earl of Jersey for the lord chamberlain's staff, and to Sir Edward Seymour for the comptroller's. The Earl of Jersey was a weak man, but crafty and well practised in the arts of a court: his lady was a papist, and it was believed, that while he was ambassador in France, he was secretly reconciled to the court of St. Germain: for after that, he seemed in their interests. It was one of the reproaches of the last reign, that he had so much credit with the late King; who was so sensible of it, that if he had lived a little while longer he would have dismissed him: he was considered as the person that was now in the closest correspondence with the court of France; and though he was in himself a very inconsiderable man, yet he was applied to by all those who wished well to the court of St. Germain. The Earl of Kent had the staff: he was the first Earl of England, and had a great estate. Mansell, the heir of a great family in Wales, was made comptroller;

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The Earl of Nottingham
quitted his
place.

The Earl of
Jersey and
and Sir Ed-
ward Sey-
mour turned
out.

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The Duke of Marlborough conducted his design with great secrecy.

and after a month's delay, Harley, the speaker, was made secretary of state.

But now I turn to give an account of the affairs abroad : the Emperor was reduced to the last extremities ; the Elector of Bavaria was master of the Danube all down to Passau, and the malecontents in Hungary were making a formidable progress. The Emperor was not in a condition to maintain a defensive war long, on both hands ; so that when these should come to act by concert, no opposition could be made to them. Thus his affairs had a very black appearance, and utter ruin was to be apprehended ; Vienna would be probably besieged on both sides ; and it was not in a condition to make a long defence : so the house of Austria seemed lost. Prince Eugene proposed that the Emperor should implore the Queen's protection ; this was agreed to, and Count Wratislaw managed the matter at our court, with great application and secrecy ; the Duke of Marlborough saw the necessity of undertaking it, and resolved to try, if it was possible, to put it in execution. When he went into Holland in the winter, he proposed it to the Pensioner, and other persons of the greatest confidence ; they approved of it, but it was not advisable to propose it to the states ; at that time, many of them would not have thought their country safe, if their army should be sent so far from them : nothing could be long a secret that was proposed to such an assembly, and the main hope of succeeding in this design, lay in the secrecy with which it was conducted. Under the blind of the project for carrying the war to the Mozelle, every thing was prepared, that was necessary for executing the true design. When the Duke went over the second time, that which was proposed in public, related only to the motions towards the Mozelle ; so he drew his army together in May : he marched towards the Mozelle, but he went farther ; and after he had gained the advance of some days of the French troops, he wrote to the states from Ladenburg, to let them know, that he had the Queen's order to march to the relief of the empire, with which he hoped they would agree, and allow of his carrying their troops to share in the honour of that expedition : he had their answer as quick as the courier could carry it, by which they approved of the design, and of his carrying their troops with him.

So he marched with all possible expedition from the Rhine to the Danube, which was a great surprise to the court of France, as well as to the Elector of Bavaria. The King of France sent orders to Marshal Tallard to march in all haste with the best troops they had to support the Elector, who apprehended that the Duke of Marlborough would endeavour to pass the Danube at Donawert, and so break into Bavaria: to prevent that, he posted about sixteen thousand of his best troops at Schellenberg, near Donawert, which was looked on as a very strong and tenable post. The Duke of Marlborough joined the Prince of Baden, with the imperial army, in the beginning of July; and, after a long march, continued from three in the morning, they came up to the Bavarian troops towards the evening: they were so well posted, that our men were repulsed in the three first attacks with great loss: at last the enemy were beat from their posts, which was followed with a total rout, and we became masters of their camp, their artillery, and their baggage. Their general, Arco, with many others, swam over the Danube: others got into Donawert, which they abandoned next morning, with that precipitation, that they were not able to execute the Elector's cruel orders, which were to set fire to the town if they should be forced to abandon it: great quantities of straw were laid in many places, as a preparation for that, in case of a misfortune.

The best half of the Bavarian forces were now entirely routed; about five thousand of them were killed: we lost as many, for the action was very hot, and our men were much exposed; yet they went still on, and continued the attack with such resolution, that it let the generals see how much they might depend on the courage of their soldiers. Now we were masters of Donawert, and thereby of a passage over the Danube, which laid all Bavaria open to our army: upon that, the Elector, with Marshal Marsin, drew the rest of his army under the cannon of Augsburg, where he lay so well posted, that it was not possible to attack him, nor to force him out of it: the Duke of Marlborough followed him, and got between him and his country, so that it was wholly in his power. When he had him at this disadvantage, he entered upon a treaty with him, and offered him what terms he could desire, either for himself or his brother, even to the paying him the whole charge of the

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He marched
to the Danube.

The battle
of Schellenberg.

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war, upon condition that he would immediately break with the French, and send his army into Italy, to join with the imperialists there: his subjects, who were now at mercy, pressed him vehemently to accept of those terms: he seemed inclined to hearken to them, and messengers went often between the two armies: but this was done only to gain time, for he sent courier after courier, with most pressing instances to hasten the advance of the French army. When he saw he could gain no more time, the matter went so far, that the articles were ordered to be made ready for signing. In conclusion, he refused to sign them; and then severe orders were given for military execution on his country. Every thing that was within the reach of the army, that was worth taking, was brought away, and the rest was burnt and destroyed.

The two generals did after that resolve on further action; and since the Elector's camp could not be forced, the siege of Ingolstad was to be carried on: it was the most important place he had, in which his great magazines were laid up. The Prince of Baden went to besiege it, and the Duke of Marlborough was to cover the siege, in conjunction with Prince Eugene, who commanded a body of the imperial army, which was now drawn out of the posts into which they had been put, in order to hinder the march of the French; but they were not able to maintain them, against so great a force as was now coming up: these formed a great army. Prince Eugene, having intelligence of the quick motions of the French, posted his troops, that were about eighteen thousand, as advantageously as he could; and went to concert matters with the Duke of Marlborough, who lay at some distance. He upon that marched towards the Prince's army with all possible haste, and so the two armies joined: it was now in the beginning of August. The Elector hearing how near M. Tallard was, marched with M. Marsin, and joined him. Their armies advanced very near ours, and were well posted; having the Danube on one side, and a rivulet on the other, whose banks were high, and in some places formed a morass before them. The two French armies were now in view one of another: the French were superior to us in foot, by about ten thousand; but we had three thousand horse more than they: the post of which they

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were possessed was capable of being, in a very little time, put out of all danger of future attacks; so the Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene saw how important it was, to lose no time, and resolved to attack them the next morning. They saw the danger of being forced, otherwise, to lie idle in their camp, till their forage should be consumed, and their provisions spent. They had also intercepted letters from Marshal Villeroy to the Elector, by which it appeared, that he had orders to march into Wirtemberg, to destroy that country, and to cut off the communication with the Rhine, which must have been fatal to us: so the necessary dispositions were made for the next morning's action. Many of the general officers came and represented to the Duke of Marlborough the difficulties of the design; he said, he saw these well, but the thing was absolutely necessary: so they were sent to give orders every where, which was received all over the army with an alacrity that gave a happy presage of the success that followed.

I will not venture on a particular relation of that great day: I have seen a copious account of it, prepared by the Duke of Marlborough's orders, that will be printed some time or other: but there are some passages in it, which make him not think it fit to be published presently. He told me, he never saw more evident characters of a special Providence, than appeared that day: a signal one related to his own person: a cannon-ball went into the ground so near him, that he was some time quite covered with the cloud of dust and earth that it raised about him. I will sum up the action in a few words.

Our men quickly passed the brook, the French making no opposition: this was a fatal error, and was laid wholly to Tallard's charge: the action that followed was, for some time, very hot; many fell on both sides; ten battalions of the French stood their ground, but were, in a manner, mowed down in their ranks: upon that the horse ran many of them into the Danube; most of these perished: Tallard himself was taken prisoner. The rest of his troops were posted in the village of Blenheim: these, seeing all lost, and that some bodies were advancing upon them, which seemed to them to be thicker than indeed they were, and apprehending that it was impossible to break through, they

The battle of  
Hocksted.

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did not attempt it, though brave men might have made their way. Instead of that, when our men came up to set fire to the village, the Earl of Orkney first beating a parley, they hearkened to it very easily, and were all made prisoners of war. There were about thirteen hundred officers, and twelve thousand common soldiers, who laid down their arms, and were now in our hands. Thus all Tallard's army was either killed in the action, drowned in the Danube, or become prisoners by capitulation. Things went not so easily on Prince Eugene's side, where the Elector and Marsin commanded: he was repulsed in three attacks, but carried the fourth, and broke in; and so he was master of their camp, cannon, and baggage. The enemy retired in some order, and he pursued them as far as men, wearied with an action of about six hours, in an extreme hot day, could go: thus we gained an entire victory. In this action there was on our side about twelve thousand killed and wounded; but the French and the Elector lost about forty thousand killed, wounded, and taken.

The Elector marched with all the haste he could to Ulm, where he left some troops, and then, with a small body, got to Villeroy's army. Now all Bavaria was at mercy; the Electoress received the civilities due to her sex, but she was forced to submit to such terms as were imposed on her: Ingolstad, and all the fortified places in the electorate, with the magazines that were in them, were soon delivered up: Augsburgh, Ulm, and Memming, quickly recovered their liberty; so now our army, having put a speedy conclusion to the war, that was got so far into the bowels of the empire, marched quickly back to the Rhine. The Emperor made great acknowledgments of this signal service, which the Duke of Marlborough had done him, and upon it offered to make him a prince of the empire; he very decently said, he could not accept of this, till he knew the Queen's pleasure; and, upon her consenting to it, he was created a prince of the empire, and, about a year after, Mindleheim was assigned him for his principality.

Upon this great success in Germany, the Duke of Savoy sent a very pressing message for a present supply. The Duke of Vendome was in Piedmont, and, after a long siege, had taken Verceil, and was like to make a further progress: the few remains of the imperial army, that lay in

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the Modenese, gave but a small diversion; the Grand Prior had so shut them up, that they lay on a feeble defensive. Baron Leiningen was sent, with another small army, into the Brescian; but he was so ill supplied, that he could do nothing but eat up the country; and the Venetians were so feeble and so fearful, that they suffered their country to be eat up by both sides, without declaring for or against either. The Prince of Baden insisted on undertaking the siege of Landau, as necessary to secure the circles, Suabia in particular, from the excursions of that garrison: this was popular in Germany, and though the Duke of Marlborough did not approve it, he did not oppose it with all the authority that his great success had given him: so the Prince of Baden undertook it, while the Duke, with his army, covered the siege. This was universally blamed; for while France was in the consternation which the late great loss brought them under, a more vigorous proceeding was like to have greater effects; besides that the imperial army was ill provided; the great charge of a siege was above their strength: the Prince of Baden suffered much in his reputation for this undertaking: it was that which the French wished for; and so it was suspected that some secret practice had prevailed on that Prince to propose it. It is certain that he was jealous of the glory the Duke had got, in which he had no share; and it was believed that if he had not gone to besiege Ingolstad, the battle had never been fought: he was indeed so fierce a bigot in his religion, that he could not bear the successes of those he called heretics, and the exaltation which he thought heresy might have upon it.

While the Duke of Marlborough lay covering the siege, Villeroy with his army came and looked on him; but as our soldiers were exalted with their success, so the French were too much dispirited with their losses to make any attack, or to put any thing to hazard, in order to raise the siege. They retired back, and went into quarters, and trusted to the bad state of the imperial army, who were ill provided and ill supplied: the garrison made as vigorous a defence, and drew out the siege to as great a length as could be expected: the Prince of Baden had neither engineers nor ammunition, and wanted money to provide them; so that if the Duke had not supplied him, he must



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have been forced to give it over. The King of the Romans came again to have the honour of taking the place; his behaviour there did not serve to raise his character; he was not often in the places of danger, and was content to look on at a great and safe distance; he was always beset with priests, and such a face of superstition and bigotry appeared about him, that it very much damped the hopes that were given of him.

The Duke  
of Marlbo-  
rough ad-  
vanced to  
Triers.

When it appeared, that there was no need of an army to cover the siege, and that the place could not hold out many days, the Duke of Marlborough resolved to possess himself of Triers, as a good winter quarter, that brought him near the confines of France; from whence he might open the campaign next year, with great advantage: and he reckoned that the taking of Traerback, even in that advanced season, would be soon done: and then the communication with Holland, by water, was all clear: so that during the winter every thing that was necessary could be brought up thither from Holland safe and cheap. This he executed with that diligence, that the French abandoned every place as he advanced with such precipitation, that they had not time given them to burn the places they forsook, according to the barbarous method which they had long practised. The Duke got to Triers, and that being a large place, he posted a great part of his army in and about it, and left a sufficient force with the Prince of Hesse for the taking of Traerback, which held out some weeks, but capitulated at last. Landau was not taken before the middle of November.

Thus ended this glorious campaign; in which England and Holland gained a very unusual glory: for as they had never sent their armies so far by land, so their triumphant return helped not a little to animate and unite their counsels. Prince Eugene had a just share in the honour of this great expedition, which he had chiefly promoted by his counsels, and did so nobly support by his conduct. The Prince of Baden had no share in the public joy: his conduct was as bad as could be, and the fret he was possessed with, upon the glory that the other generals carried from him, threw him, as was believed, into a languishing, of which he never quite recovered, and of which he died two years after.

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At the conclusion of the campaign, the Duke of Marlborough went to Berlin, where he concerted the measures for the next campaign, and agreed with the King of Prussia for eight thousand of his troops, which were to be sent to Italy upon the Queen's pay. He had settled matters with the Emperor's ministers, so that they undertook to send Prince Eugene, with an army of twenty thousand men, who should begin their march into Italy, as soon as it was possible to pass the mountains: of these the Queen and the states were to pay sixteen thousand. He returned by the court of Hanover, where he was treated with all the honour that the success of the campaign well deserved: he met with the same reception in Holland, and was as much considered and submitted to as if he had been their stadtholder. The credit he was in among them was very happy to them, and was indeed necessary at that time for keeping down their factions and animosities, which were rising in every province, and in most of their towns. Only Amsterdam, as it was the most sensible of the common danger, so it was not only quiet within itself, but it contributed not a little to keep all the rest so, which was chiefly maintained by the Duke of Marlborough's prudent management. England was full of joy, and addresses of congratulation were sent up from all parts of the nation; but it was very visible, that, in many places, the tories went into these very coldly; and perhaps that made the whigs the more zealous and affectionate.

I now turn to the other element, where our affairs were carried on more doubtfully. Rook sailed into the Straits, where he reckoned he was strong enough for the Toulon squadron, which was then abroad in the Mediterranean: soon after that, a strong squadron from Brest passed by Lisbon into the Straits. Methuen, our ambassador there, apprehending, that if these two squadrons should join to attack Rook, it would not be possible for him to fight against so great a force, sent a man of war, that Rook had left at Lisbon, with some particular orders, which made him very unwilling to carry the message, but Methuen promised to save him harmless: he upon that sailed through the French fleet, and brought this important advertisement to Rook; who told him, that on this occasion he would pass by his not observing his orders, but that for

Affairs at sea.

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the future he would find the safest course was to obey orders. Upon this Rook stood out of the way of the French, towards the mouth of the Straits, and there he met Shovel with a squadron of our best ships; so being thus reinforced he sailed up the Straits, being now in a condition, if need were, to engage the French. He came before Barcelona, where the Prince of Hesse Darmstadt assured him there was a strong party ready to declare for King Charles, as it was certain, that there was a great disposition in many to it: but Rook would not stay above three days before it: so that the motions within the town, and the discoveries that many made of their inclinations, had almost proved fatal to them. He answered, when pressed to stay a few days more, that his orders were positive: he must make towards Nice: which it was believed the French intended to besiege.

But as he was sailing that way, he had advice that the French had made no advances in that design: so he turned his course westward, and came in sight of the French fleet, sailing from Brest to Toulon: the advantage he had was so visible, that it was expected he would have made towards them; he did it not: what orders he had was not known, for the matter never came under examination: they got to Toulon, and he steered another way. The whole French fleet was then together in that harbour; for though the Toulon squadron had been out before, it was then in port.

A very happy accident had preserved a rich fleet of merchant ships from Scanderoon, under the convoy of three or four frigates, from falling into their hands: the French fleet lay in their way in the Bay of Tunis, and nothing could have saved them from being taken, but that which happened in the critical minute in which they needed it; a thick fog covered them all the while that they were sailing by that bay, so that they had no apprehension of the danger they were in, till they had passed it. I know it is not possible to determine when such accidents rise from a chain of second causes in the course of nature, and when they are directed by a special Providence; but my mind has always carried me so strongly to acknowledge the latter, that I love to set these reflections in the way of others, that they may consider them with the same serious attention that I feel in myself.



Rook, as he sailed back, fell in upon Gibraltar; where <sup>1704.</sup> he spent much powder, bombarding it to very little purpose, that he might seem to attempt somewhat, though <sup>Gibraltar</sup> was taken. There was no reason to hope that he could succeed. Some bold men ventured to go ashore, in a place where it was not thought possible to climb up the rocks; yet they succeeded in it: when they got up, they saw all the women of the town were come out, according to their superstition, to a chapel there, to implore the Virgin's protection: they seized on them, and that contributed not a little to dispose those in the town to surrender: they had leave to stay or go as they pleased; and in case they staid, they were assured of protection in their religion, and in every thing else; for the Prince of Hesse, who was to be their governor, was a papist: but they all went away, with the small garrison that had defended the place. The Prince of Hesse, with the marines that were on board the fleet, possessed himself of the place, and they were furnished out of the stores that went with the fleet, with every thing that was necessary for their subsistence or defence, and a regular method was laid down of supplying them constantly from Lisbon.

It has been much questioned, by men who understand these matters well, whether our possessing ourselves of Gibraltar, and our maintaining ourselves in it so long, was to our advantage or not: it has certainly put us to a great charge, and we have lost many men in it; but it seems the Spaniards, who should know the importance of the place best, think it so valuable, that they have been at a much greater charge, and have lost many more men, while they have endeavoured to recover it, than the taking or keeping it has cost us: and it is certain that in war, whatsoever loss on one side occasions a greater loss of men or of treasure to the other, must be reckoned a loss only to the side that suffers most.

Our expedition in Portugal, and our armies there, which cost us so dear, and from which we expected so much, had not hitherto had any great effects: the King of Portugal expressed the best intentions possible; but he was much governed by his ministers, who were all in the French interests: they had a great army, but they had made no preparations for taking the field; nor could they bring their

The affairs  
of Port: gal.



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troops together for want of provisions and carriages: the forms of their government made them very slow, and not easily accessible: they were too proud to confess that they wanted any thing when they had nothing, and too lazy to bestir themselves to execute what was in their power to do; and the King's ill health furnished them with an excuse, for every thing that was defective, and out of order. The priests, both in Spain and Portugal, were so universally in the French interest, that even the house of Austria, that had been formerly so much in their favour, was now in disgrace with them. Their alliance with heretics, and their bringing over an army of them, to maintain their pretensions, had made all their former services be forgotten. The governing body at Rome did certainly engage all their zealous every where to support that interest, which is now so set on the destruction of heresy. King Philip advanced towards the frontiers of Portugal, his army being commanded by the Duke of Berwick, who began to shine there, though he had passed elsewhere for a man of no very great character. They had several advantages of the Portuguese: some of the English and Dutch battalions, which were so posted that they could not be relieved, and in places that were not tenable, fell into the enemies' hands, and were made prisoners of war. Some of the general officers, who came over, said to me, that if the Duke of Berwick had followed his advantages, nothing could have hindered his coming to Lisbon. The Duke of Schomberg was a better officer in the field than in the cabinet; he did not enough know how to prepare for a campaign; he was both too inactive and too haughty; so it was thought necessary to send another to command. The Earl of Gallway was judged the fittest person for that service; he undertook it, more in submission to the Queen's commands, than out of any great prospect or hopes of success; things went on very heavily there; the distraction that the taking Gibraltar put the Spaniards in, as it occasioned a diversion of some of the Spanish forces that lay on their frontier, so it furnished them with advantages, which they took no care to improve.

A fight at sea.

Rook, after he had supplied Gibraltar, sailed again into the Mediterranean; and there he met the Count of Thoulouse, with the whole French fleet: they were superior to the English in number, and had many galleys with them that

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were of great use. Rook called a council of war, in which it was resolved to engage them; there was not due care taken to furnish all the ships with a sufficient quantity of powder, for some had wasted a great part of their stock of ammunition before Gibraltar, yet they had generally twenty-five rounds, and it had seldom happened, that so much powder was spent in an action at sea. On the 12th of August, just ten days after the battle of Hocksted, the two fleets engaged. Shovel advanced with his squadron to a close fight, for it was the maxim of our seamen to fight as near as they could; he had the advantage, and the squadron before him gave way. Rook fought at a greater distance; many broadsides passed, and the engagement continued till night parted them: some ships, that had spent all their ammunition, were forced on that account to go out of the line; and if the French had come to a new engagement the next day, it might have been fatal, since many of our ships were without powder, whilst others had enough and to spare.

In this long and hot action, there was no ship of either side, that was either taken, sunk, or burnt; we made a shew the next day, of preparing for a second engagement; but the enemy bore off, to the great joy of our fleet. The French suffered much in this action, and went into Toulon so disabled that they could not be put in a condition to go to sea again in many months. They left the sea, as the field of battle, to us, so the honour of the action remained with us; though the nation was not much lifted up with the news of a drawn battle at sea with the French. We were long without a certain account of this action, but the modesty in which the King of France wrote of it to the Archbishop of Paris, put us out of all fears; for whereas their style was very boasting of their successes, in this it was only said, that the action was to his advantage: from that cold expression we concluded the victory was on our side.

When the full account was sent home from our fleet, the partialities on both sides appeared very signally; the tories magnified this as a great victory, and in their addresses of congratulation to the Queen, they joined this with that which the Duke of Marlborough had gained at Hocksted. I understand nothing of sea matters, and therefore cannot make a judgment in the point: I have heard men, skilled

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in those affairs, differ much in the sentiments of Rook's conduct in that action; some not only justifying but extolling it, as much as others condemned it. It was certainly ridiculous to set forth the glory of so disputable an engagement, in the same words with the successes we had by land. The fleet soon after sailed home for England, Leak being left with a squadron at Lisbon.

The siege of  
Gibraltar.

The Spaniards drew all the forces they had in Andalusia and Estremadura together, to retake Gibraltar; that army was commanded by the Duke of Villadarias: he had with him some French troops, with some engineers of that nation, who were chiefly relied on, and were sent from France to carry on the siege. This gave some disgust to the Spaniards, who were so foolish in their pride, that though they could do nothing for themselves, and indeed knew not how to set about it, yet could not bear to be taught by others, or to see themselves out-done by them. The siege was continued for above four months, during which time the Prince of Hesse had many occasions given him to distinguish himself very eminently, both as to his courage, conduct, and indefatigable application. Convoys came frequently from Lisbon, with supplies of men and provisions; which the French were not able to hinder, or to intercept. Pointy at last came, with a squadron of twenty French ships, and lay long in the bay, trying what could be done by sea, while the place was pressed by land: upon that, a much stronger squadron was sent from Lisbon, with a great body of men, and stores of all sorts, to relieve the place and to raise the siege; and the court of France, not being satisfied with the conduct of the Spanish general, sent Marshal Tesse to carry on the siege with greater expedition. The Portuguese, all this while, made no use of the diversion given by the siege of Gibraltar; they made great demands on us, for England was now considered as a source, that could never be exhausted: we granted all their demands, and a body of horse was sent to them at a vast charge. The King was in a very ill state of health, occasioned by disorders in his youth; he had not been treated skilfully, so he was often relapsing, and was not in a condition to apply himself much to business. For some time, our Queen Dowager was set at the head of their councils: her administration was much commended, and she was very careful of the English and all their concerns.



In Italy, the Duke of Savoy had a melancholy campaign, losing place after place; but he supported his affairs with great conduct; and shewed a firmness in his misfortunes, beyond what could have been imagined. Vercell and Yvrea gave the Duke of Vendome the trouble of a tedious siege; they stood their ground as long as possible; the Duke of Savoy's army was not strong enough to raise these sieges, so both places fell in conclusion. The French had not troops both to carry on the war and to leave garrisons in those places, so they demolished the fortifications; after they had succeeded so far, they sat down before Verue in the end of October. The Duke of Savoy posted his army at Crescentino, over against it, on the other side of the Po: he had a bridge of communication; he went often into the place, during the siege, to see and animate his men, and to give all necessary orders; the sick and wounded were carried away, and fresh men put in their stead. This siege proved the most famous of all that had been during the late wars; it lasted above five months, the garrison being often changed, and always well supplied. The French army suffered much by continuing the siege all the winter, and they were at a vast charge in carrying it on; the bridge of communication was, after many unsuccessful attempts, at last cut off; and the Duke of Savoy being thus separated from the place, retired to Chivaz, and left them to defend themselves as long as they could, which they did beyond what could in reason have been expected. The Duke of Savoy complained much of the Emperor's failing to make good his promises; but, in a discourse upon that subject with the Queen's envoy, he said, though he was abandoned by his allies, he would not abandon himself.

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Affairs in  
Italy.

The poor people in the Cevennes suffered much this summer: it was not possible to come to them with supplies till matters should go better in Piedmont, of which there was then no prospect: they were advised to preserve themselves the best they could. Marshal Villars was sent into the country to manage them with a gentler hand; the severe methods taken by those formerly employed being now disowned, he was ordered to treat with their leaders, and to offer them full liberty to serve God in their own way without disturbance; they generally inclined to hearken

And in the  
Cevennes.



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to this; for they had now kept themselves in a body much longer than was thought possible in their low and helpless state: some of them capitulated, and took service in the French army; but, as soon as they came near the armies of the allies, they deserted and went over to them: so that, by all this practice, that fire was rather covered up at present than quite extinguished.

Affairs of  
Hungary,

The disorders in Hungary had a deeper root, and a greater strength; it was hoped that the ruin of the Elector of Bavaria would have quite disheartened them, and have disposed them to accept of reasonable terms; if the Emperor could have been prevailed on to offer them frankly, and immediately upon their first consternation, after the conquest of Bavaria. There were great errors in the government of that kingdom: by a long course of oppression and injustice, the Hungarians were grown savage and intractable; they saw they were both hated and despised by the Germans; the court of Vienna seemed to consider them as so many enemies, who were to be depressed in order to their being extirpated: upon any pretence of plots their persons were seized on, and their estates confiscated: the Jesuits were believed to have a great share in all those contrivances and prosecutions; and it was said that they purchased the confiscated estates upon very easy terms; the nobility of Hungary seemed irreconcilable to the court of Vienna: on the other hand, those of that court, who had these confiscations assigned them, and knew that the restoring these would certainly be insisted on as a necessary article, in any treaty that might follow, did all they could to obstruct such a treaty. It was visible that Ragotski, who was at their head, aimed at the principality of Transylvania: and it was natural for the Hungarians to look on his arriving at that dignity, by which he could protect and assist them, as the best security they could have. On the other hand, the court of Vienna, being possessed of that principality, would not easily part with it. In the midst of all this fermentation, a revolution happened in the Turkish empire: a new sultan was set up. So all things were at a stand, till it might be known what was to be expected from him. They were soon delivered from this anxiety; for he sent a chiaus to the court of Vienna, to assure them, that he was resolved to maintain the peace in all

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points, and that he would give no assistance to the malecontents. The court of Vienna being freed from those apprehensions, resolved to carry on the war in Hungary as vigorously as they could : this was imputed to a secret practice from France on some of that court, and there were so many there concerned in the confiscations, that every proposition that way was powerfully supported : thus Italy was neglected, and the siege of Landau was ill supported ; their chief strength being employed in Hungary. Yet when the ministers of the allies pressed the opening a treaty with the malecontents, the Emperor seemed willing to refer the arbitration of that matter to his allies ; but, though it was fit to speak in that style, yet no such thing was designed. A treaty was opened ; but when it was known that Zeiher had the chief management of it, there was no reason to expect any good effect of it : he was born a protestant, a subject of the palatinate, and was often employed by the Elector Charles Lewis, to negotiate affairs at the court of Vienna ; he, seeing a prospect of rising in that court, changed his religion, and became a creature of the Jesuits ; and adhered steadily to all their interests. He managed that secret practice with the French, in the treaty of Ryswick, by which the protestants of the palatinate suffered so considerable a prejudice. The treaty in Hungary stuck at the preliminaries ; for indeed neither side was then inclined to treat ; the malecontents were supported from France ; they were routed in several engagements, but these were not so considerable as the court of Vienna gave out in their public news ; the malecontents suffered much in them, but came soon together again ; and they subsisted so well, what by the mines, of which they had possessed themselves, what by the incursions they made, and the contributions they raised from the Emperor's subjects, that unless the war were carried on more vigorously, or a peace were offered more sincerely, that kingdom was long like to be a scene of blood and rapine.

So was its neighbouring kingdom of Poland : it was hoped, that the talk of a new election was only a loud threatening, to force a peace the sooner ; but it proved otherwise : a diet was brought together of those who were irreconcilable to King Augustus, and after many delays, Stanislaus, one of the palatines, was chosen and proclaim-

The affairs  
of Poland.

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ed their King; and he was presently owned by the King of Sweden. The Cardinal seemed at first unwilling to agree to this, but he suffered himself to be forced to it; this was believed to be only an artifice of his to excuse himself to the court of France, whose pensioner he was, and to whom he had engaged to carry the election for the Prince of Conti. The war went on this year, with various success on both sides; King Augustus made a quick march to Warsaw, where he surprised some of Stanislaus's party, he himself escaping narrowly: but the King of Sweden followed so close, that not being able to fight him, he was forced to retreat into Saxony, where he continued for some months: there he ruined his own dominions, by the great preparations he made to return with a mighty force: the delay of that made many forsake his party; for it was given out that he would return no more, and that he was weary of the war, and he had good reason so to be. Poland, in the meanwhile, was in a most miserable condition; the King of Sweden subsisted his army in it, and his temper grew daily more fierce and gothic; he was resolved to make no peace till Augustus was driven out. In the meanwhile, his own country suffered much: Livonia was destroyed by the Muscovites; they had taken Narva, and made some progresses into Sweden. The Pope espoused the interests of King Augustus; for to support a new convert of such importance was thought a point worthy the zeal of that see; so he cited the Cardinal to appear at Rome, and to give an account of the share he had in all that war.

The Pope  
wholly in  
the French  
interest.

The Pope was now wholly in the French interest, and maintained the character, they pretend to, of a common father, with so much partiality, that the Emperor himself, how tame and submissive soever to all the impositions of that see, yet could not bear it; but made loud complaints of it. The Pope had threatened, that he would thunder out excommunications against all those troops that should continue in his dominions: the Emperor was so implicit in his faith, and so ready in his obedience, that he ordered his troops to retire out of the ecclesiastical state: but all the effect that this had, was to leave that state entirely in the hands of the French, against whom the Pope did not think fit to fulminate; yet the Pope still pretended



that he would maintain a neutrality, and both the Venetians and the Great Duke adhered to him in that resolution, and continued neutral during the war.

Having now given a view of the state of affairs abroad, I return back to prosecute the relation of those at home, and begin with Scotland. A session of parliament was held there this summer: the Duke of Queensberry's management of the plot was so liable to exception, that it was not thought fit to employ him, and it seems he had likewise brought himself under the Queen's displeasure; for it was proposed by some of his friends in the House of Lords, to desire the Queen to communicate to them a letter, which he had wrote to her of such a date: this looked like an examination of the Queen herself, to whom it ought to have been left to send what letters she thought fit to the House, and they ought not to call for any one in particular. The matter of that letter made him liable to a very severe censure in Scotland: for in plain words he charged the majority of the parliament as determined in their proceedings, by an influence from St. Germain's: this exposed him in Scotland to the fury of a parliament; for how true soever this might be, by the laws of that kingdom, such a representation of a parliament to the Queen, especially in matters which could not be proved, was leasing-making, and was capital.

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The affairs  
of Scotland.

The chief design of the court in this session, was to get the succession of the crown to be declared, and a supply to be given for the army, which was run into a great arrear. In the debates of the former session, those who opposed every thing, more particularly the declaring the succession, had insisted chiefly on motions to bring their own constitution to such a settlement, that they might suffer no prejudice, by their King's living in England. Mr. Johnstone was now taken in by the ministers into a new management: it was proposed by him, in concert with the Marquis of Tweeddale, and some others in Scotland, that the Queen should empower her commissioner to consent to a revival of the whole settlement, made by King Charles the First, in the year 1641.

By that, the King named a privy council, and his ministers of state in parliament, who had a power to accept of, or to except to the nomination, without being bound to give the reason for excepting to it: in the intervals of parlia-



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ment, the King was to give all employments, with the consent of the privy council: this was the main point of that settlement, which was looked on by the wisest men of that time, as a full security to all their laws and liberties. It did indeed divest the crown of a great part of the prerogative, and it brought the parliament into some equality with the crown.

The Queen, upon the representation made to her by her ministers, offered this as a limitation on the successor, in case they would settle the succession, as England had done; and, for doing this, the Marquis of Tweedale was named her commissioner. The Queen did also signify her pleasure very positively to all who were employed by her, that she expected they should concur in settling the succession, as they desired the continuance of her favour. Both the Duke of Marlborough and the Lord Godolphin expressed themselves very fully and positively to the same purpose; yet it was dexterously surmised, and industriously set about by the jacobites, and too easily believed by jealous and cautious people, that the court was not sincere in this matter; and that at best they were indifferent as to the success. Some went further, and said, that those who were in a particular confidence at court, did secretly oppose it, and entered into a management on design to obstruct it: I could never see any good ground for this suggestion; yet there was matter enough for jealousy to work on, and this was carefully improved by the jacobites, in order to defeat the design. Mr. Johnstone was made lord register, and was sent down to promote the design; the jacobites were put in hopes, in case of a rupture, to have a considerable force sent to support them from Dunkirk.

A session of parliament being opened, and the speeches made, and the Queen's letter read, all which tended to the settling the succession, that was the first debate: a great party was now wrought on, when they understood the security that was to be offered to them; for the wisest patriots in that kingdom had always magnified that constitution, as the best contrived scheme that could be desired; so they went in with great zeal to the accepting of it: but those, who, in the former session, had rejected all the motions of treating with England with some scorn, and had made this their constant topic, that they must in the first place secure

their own constitution at home, and then they might trust the rest to time, and to such accidents as time might bring forth; now when they saw that every thing that could be desired was offered, with relation to their own government, they (being resolved to oppose any declaration of the succession, what terms soever might be granted to obtain it) turned the argument wholly another way, to shew the necessity of a previous treaty with England. They were upon that told that the Queen was ready to grant them every thing that was reasonable, with relation to their own constitution, yet without the concurrence of the parliament of England, she could grant nothing in which England was concerned; for they were for demanding a share of the plantation trade, and that their ships might be comprehended within the act of navigation.

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After a long debate, the main question was put, whether they should then enter upon the consideration of the limitations of the government, in order to the fixing the succession of the crown, or if that should be postponed till they had obtained such a security by a treaty with England as they should judge necessary. It was carried by a majority of forty, to begin with a treaty with England: of these, about thirty were in immediate dependance on the court, and were determined according to the directions given them. So, notwithstanding a long and idle speech of the Earl of Cromarty's, which was printed, running into a distinction among divines, between the revealed and secret will of God, shewing, that no such distinction could be applied to the Queen; she had but one will, and that was revealed; yet it was still suspected, that at least her ministers had a secret will in the case. They went no further in this vote for a treaty with England; for they could not agree among themselves, who should be the commissioners, and those who opposed the declaring the succession, were concerned for no more, when that question was once set aside: so it was postponed, as a matter about which they took no further care.

Debates  
about the  
succession.

The settling  
it, put off for  
that session.

They offered to the court six months' cess, for the pay of the army; but they tacked to this a great part of a bill which passed the former session of parliament, but was refused by the throne: by that it was provided, that if the Queen should die without issue, a parliament should pre-

A money  
bill with a  
tack to it.

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sently meet, and they were to declare the successor to the crown, who should not be the same person that was possessed of the crown of England, unless before that time there should be a settlement made in parliament, of the rights and liberties of the nation, independent on English councils. By another clause in the act, it was made lawful to arm the subjects, and to train them and put them in a posture of defence. This was chiefly pressed, in behalf of the best affected in the kingdom, who were not armed; for the highlanders, who were the worst affected, were well armed; so, to balance that, it was moved, that leave should be given to arm the rest. All was carried with great heat and much vehemence; for a national humour, of being independent on England, fermented so strongly among all sorts of people without doors, that those who went not into every hot motion that was made, were looked on as the betrayers of their country; and they were so exposed to a popular fury, that some of those who studied to stop this tide, were thought to be in danger of their lives. The presbyterians were so over-awed with this, that though they wished well to the settling the succession, they durst not openly declare it. The Dukes of Hamilton and Athol led all those violent motions, and the whole nation was strangely inflamed.

The ministers were put to a great difficulty with the supply bill, and the tack that was joined to it: if it was denied, the army could be no longer kept up: they had run so far in arrear, that considering the poverty of the country, that could not be carried on much longer. Some suggested, that it should be proposed to the English ministry, to advance the subsistence money, till better measures could be taken; but none of the Scotch ministry would consent to that. An army is reckoned to belong to those who pay it; so an army paid from England, would be called an English army; nor was it possible to manage such a thing secretly. It was well known, that there was no money in the Scotch Treasury to pay them; so if money were once brought into the Treasury, how secretly soever, all men must conclude that it came from England; and men's minds were then so full of the conceit of independency, that if a suspicion arose of any such practice, probably it would have occasioned tumults. Even the army was so



kindled with this, that it was believed that neither officers nor soldiers would have taken their pay, if they had believed it came from England. It came then to this, that either the army must be disbanded, or the bill must pass. It is true, the army was a very small one, not above three thousand; but it was so ordered, that it was double or treble officered; so that it could have been easily increased to a much greater number, if there had been occasion for it. The officers had served long, and were men of a good character: so since they were alarmed with an invasion, which both sides looked for, and the intelligence which the court had from France, assured them it was intended; they thought the inconveniences arising from the tack might be remedied afterwards: but the breaking of the army was such a pernicious thing, and might end so fatally, that it was not to be ventured on. Therefore, by common consent, a letter was wrote to the Queen, which was signed by all the ministers there, in which they laid the whole matter before her; every thing was stated and balanced; all concluded in an humble advice to pass the bill. This was very heavy on the Lord Godolphin, on whose advice the Queen chiefly relied: he saw the ill consequences of breaking the army, and laying that kingdom open to an invasion, would fall on him, if he should, in contradiction to the advice given by the ministry of Scotland, have advised the Queen to reject the bill. This was under consultation in the end of July, when our matters abroad were yet in a great uncertainty; for though the victory at Schellenberg was a good step, yet the great decision was not then come: so he thought, considering the state of affairs, and the accidents that might happen, that it was the safest thing for the Queen to comply with the advices of those, to whom she trusted the affairs of that kingdom.

The Queen sent orders to pass the bill: it passed on the 6th of August, after the great battle was over, but several days before the news of it came to us. When the act passed, copies of it were sent to England; where it was soon printed, by those who were uneasy at the Lord Godolphin's holding the white staff, and resolved to make use of this against him; for the whole blame of passing it was cast on him. It was not possible to prove that he had advised the Queen to it: so some took it by another handle,

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The ministers there advise the Queen to pass it.

It was passed.



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and resolved to urge it against him, that he had not persuaded the Queen to reject it: though that seemed a great stretch; for he being a stranger to that kingdom, it might have been liable to more objection, if he had presumed to advise the Queen to refuse a bill, passed in the parliament of Scotland, which all the ministry there advised her to pass.

Censures  
passed upon  
it.

Severe censures passed on this: it was said, that the two kingdoms were now divided by law, and that the Scotch were putting themselves in a posture to defend it; and all saw by whose advices this was done. One thing that contributed to keep up an ill humour in the parliament of Scotland, was more justly imputed to him: the Queen had promised to send down to them all the examinations relating to the plot: if these had been sent down, probably in the first heat the matter might have been carried far against the Duke of Queensberry. But he, who staid all the while at London, got it to be represented to the Queen, that the sending down these examinations, with the persons concerned in them, would run the session into so much heat, and into such a length, that it would divert them quite from considering the succession, and it might produce a tragical scene. Upon these suggestions, the Queen altered her resolution of sending them down, though repeated applications were made to her, both by the parliament and by her ministers, to have them sent; yet no answer was made to these, nor was so much as an excuse made for not sending them. The Duke of Queensberry having gained this point, got all his friends to join with the party that opposed the new ministry: this both defeated all their projects, and softened the spirits of those, who were so set against him, that in their first fury no stop could have been put to their proceedings: but now, the party that had designed to ruin him, was so much wrought on, by the assistance that his friends gave them in this session, that they resolved to preserve him.

This was the state of that nation, which was aggravated very odiously all England over: it was confidently, though, as was afterwards known, very falsely reported, that great quantities of arms were brought over, and dispersed through the whole kingdom; and it being well known how poor the nation was at that time, it was said, that those arms were paid for by other hands, in imitation of what it was be-

lieved Cardinal Richelieu did, in the year 1638. Another thing was given out very maliciously, by the Lord Treasurer's enemies, that he had given directions underhand to hinder the declaring the succession, and that the secret of this was trusted to Johnstone, who they said talked openly one way, and acted secretly another; though I could never see a colour of truth in those reports. Great use was to be made of the affairs of Scotland, because there was no ground of complaint of any thing in the administration at home: all the Duke of Marlborough's enemies saw his chief strength lay in the credit that the Lord Godolphin was in at home, while he was so successful abroad: so it being impossible to attack him in such a course of glory, they laid their aims against the Lord Treasurer. The Tories resolved to attack him, and that disposed the Whigs to preserve him; and this was so managed by them, that it gave a great turn to all our councils at home.

In the beginning of November, the session of parliament was opened: it might well be expected, that after such a summer, the addresses of both houses would run in a very high strain: the House of Commons, in their address, put the successes by sea and land on a level, and magnified both in the same expressions: but the House of Lords, in their address, took no notice of Rook nor of the sea. The lower house of convocation were resolved to follow the example of the House of Commons, and would have the sea and land both mentioned in the same terms; but the bishops would not vary from the pattern set them by the House of Lords; so no address was made by the convocation. The Commons agreed to every thing that the court proposed for supporting the war another year; this was carried through with great dispatch and unanimity: so that the main business of the session was soon over: all the money bills were prepared and carried on in the regular method without any obstruction: those who intended to embroil matters saw it was not advisable to act above board, but to proceed more covertly.

The act against occasional conformity was again brought in, but moderated in several clauses: for those who pressed it, were now resolved to bring the terms as low as was possible, in order once to carry a bill upon that head. The opposition in the House of Commons made to it, was be-

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A session of  
parliament  
in England.

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The occasional bill is again brought in, and endeavoured to be

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tacked to a  
money bill.

come so considerable (for the design was now more clearly discerned), that it was carried in that House only by a majority of fifty. When the bill was to be committed, it was moved, that it should be committed to the same committee, which was preparing the bill for the land-tax: the design of this was, that the one should be tacked to the other, and then the Lords would have been put under a great difficulty. If they should untack the bill, and separate one from the other; then the House of Commons would have insisted on a maxim that was now settled among them, as a fundamental principle never to be departed from, that the Lords cannot alter a money bill, but must either pass it or reject it, as it is sent to them: on the other hand, the Lords could not agree to any such tack without departing from that solemn resolution, which was in their books, signed by most of them, never to admit of a tack to a money-bill: if they yielded now, they taught the House of Commons the way to impose any thing on them at their pleasure.

The party in the House of Commons put their whole strength to the carrying this point: they went further in their design: that which was truly aimed at, by those in the secret, was to break the war, and to force a peace: they knew a bill with this tack could not pass in the House of Peers: some lords of their party told myself that they would never pass the bill with this tack; so by this means money would be stopped: this would put all matters in great confusion both at home and abroad; and dispose our allies, as despairing of any help from us, to accept of such terms as France would offer them: so here was an artful design formed to break, at least to shake, the whole alliance. The court was very apprehensive of this; and the Lord Godolphin opposed it with much zeal. The party disowned the design for some time, till they had brought up their whole strength, and thought they were sure of a majority.

The debate held long: those who opposed it said, this now aimed at was a change of the whole constitution; and was, in effect, turning it into a commonwealth; for it imported the denying, not only to the Lords, but to the crown, the free use of their negative in the legislature: if this was once settled, then as often as the public occasions made a money-bill necessary, every thing that the majority



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in their House had a mind to, would be tacked to it. It is true some tacks had been made to money bills in King Charles's time; but even these had still some relation to the money that was given: but here a bill, whose operation was only for one year, and which determined as soon as the four shillings in the pound was paid, was to have a perpetual law tacked to it, that must continue still in force after the greatest part of the act was expired and dead: to all this, in answer, some precedents were opposed, and the necessity of the bill for the preservation of the church was urged, which they saw was not like to pass, unless sent to the Lords so accompanied; which some thought was very wittily pressed, by calling it a portion annexed to the church, as in a marriage; and they said, they did not doubt but those of the court would bestir themselves to get it passed, when it was accompanied with two millions as its price.

Upon the division, one hundred and thirty-four were for the tack, and two hundred and fifty were against it: so that design was lost by those who had built all their hopes upon it, and were now highly offended with some of their own party, who had by their opposition wrought themselves into good places, and forsook that interest to which they owed their advancement: these, to redeem themselves with their old friends, seemed still zealous for the bill, which after went on coldly and slowly in the House of Commons, for they lost all hopes of carrying it in the House of Lords, now that the mine they had laid was sprung.

While this was going on in the House of Commons, the debate about the Scotch act was taken up with great heat in the House of Lords: the ill effects that were like to follow upon it were opened in very tragical strains: it was, after much declaiming, moved, that the Lords might pass some votes upon it. The tories, who pressed this, intended to add a severe vote against all those who had advised it; and it was visible at whom this was aimed. The whigs diverted this: they said, the putting a vote against an act passed in Scotland, looked like the claiming some superiority over them, which seemed very improper at that time, since that kingdom was possessed with a national jealousy on this head, that would be much increased by such a proceeding: more moderate methods were therefore

The tack  
was reject-  
ed.

Debates  
concerning  
Scotland.



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proposed and agreed to, in order to the making up of a breach in this island, with which they seemed to be then threatened. So an act was brought in, empowering the Queen to name commissioners to treat of a full union of both kingdoms, as soon as the parliament of Scotland should pass an act to the same purpose: but if no such union should be agreed on, or if the same succession to the crown with that of England should not be enacted by a day prefixed, then it was enacted, that after that day no Scotchman, that was not resident in England or Ireland, or employed in the Queen's service by sea or land, should be esteemed a natural-born subject of England: they added to this, a prohibition of the importation of Scotch cattle, and the manufacture of Scotland: all this fell in the House of Commons, when sent down to them, because of the money penalties which were put in the several clauses of the bill. The Commons were resolved to adhere to a notion, that had now taken such root among them, that it could not be shaken, that the Lords could not put any such clause in a bill begun with them: this was wholly new: penalties upon transgressions could not be construed to be a giving of money: the Lords were clearly in possession of proceeding thus; so that the calling it in question, was an attempt on the share which the Lords had in the legislature. The Commons let this bill lie on the table, and began a new one to the same purpose: it passed: and the following Christmas was the day prefixed for the Scotch to enact the succession, or on failure thereof, then this act was to have its effect. A great coldness appeared in many of the Commons, who used to be hot on less important occasions: they seemed not to desire that the Scotch should settle the succession; and it was visible that some of them hoped that the Lords would have used their bill as they had used that sent down by the Lords. Many of them were less concerned in the fate of the bill, because it diverted the censure which they had intended to fix on the Lord Treasurer. The Lords were aware of this, and passed the bill.

Those who wished well to the union, were afraid that the prohibition, and the declaring the Scots aliens after the day prefixed, would be looked on as threatenings: and they saw cause to apprehend, that ill-tempered men in that kingdom would use this as a handle to divert that nation,

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which was already much soured, from hearkening to any motion that might tend to promote the union, or the declaring the succession: it was given out by these, that this was an indignity done their kingdom, and that they ought not so much as to treat with a nation that threatened them in such a manner. The Marquis of Tweeddale excused himself from serving longer: so the Duke of Argyle, whose father was lately dead, was named to be sent down commissioner to hold a parliament in Scotland: he was then very young, and was very brave.

This being dispatched easier than was expected, the parliament went on to other business: complaints of an ill management both at the board of the Prince's council and at sea rose very high: this House of Commons, during the whole continuance of the parliament, never appointed a committee to look into those matters, which had been formerly a main part of their care: they saw things were ill conducted, but the chief managers of sea affairs were men of their party, and that atoned for all faults, and made them unwilling to find them out, or to censure them: the truth was, the Prince was prevailed on to continue still in the Admiralty, by those who sheltered themselves under his name: though this brought a great load on the government. The Lords went on as they had done the former session, examining into all complaints: they named two committees, the one to examine the books of the Admiralty, the other to consider the proceedings at sea: no progress was made in the first of these; for though there was a great deal suggested in private, yet since this seemed to be complaining of the Prince, none would appear directly against him: but the other afforded matter enough, both for inquiry and censure: the most important, and that which had the worst consequences was, that though there were twenty-two ships appointed for cruising, yet they had followed that service so remissly, and the orders sent them were so languid, and so little urgent, that three diligent cruising ships could have performed all the services done by that numerous fleet: this was made out in a scheme, in which all the days of their being out at sea were reckoned up, which did not exceed what three cruisers might have performed. It did not appear, whether this was only the effect of sloth or ignorance, or if there lay any designed

Complaints  
of the Ad-  
miralty.

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treachery at bottom; it seemed very plain, that there was treachery somewhere, at least among the under officers: for a French privateer being taken, they found among his papers instructions sent him by his owners, in which he was directed to lie in some stations, and to avoid others: and it happened that this agreed so exactly with the orders sent from the Admiralty, that it seemed that could not be by chance, but that the directions were sent upon sight of the orders. The Queen began this winter to come to the House of Lords upon great occasions to hear their debates, which as it was of good use for her better information, so it was very serviceable in bringing the House into better order. The first time she came, was when the debate was taken up concerning the Scotch act: she knew the Lord Treasurer was aimed at by it, and she diverted the storm by her endeavours, as well as she restrained it by her presence.

The bill  
against oc-  
casional  
conformity  
debated and  
rejected by  
the Lords.

She came likewise thither to hear the debates upon the bill against occasional conformity, which was sent up by the Commons; if it had not been for the Queen's being present, there would have been no long debate on that head, for it was scarce possible to say much, that had not been formerly said; but to give the Queen full information, since it was supposed, that she had heard that matter only on one side, it was resolved to open the whole matter in her hearing: the topics most insisted on were, the quiet that we enjoyed by the toleration, on which head the severities of former reigns were laid open, both in their injustice, cruelty, and their being managed only to advance popery, and other bad designs: the peaceable behaviour of the dissenters, and the zeal they expressed for the Queen, and her government, was also copiously set forth; while others shewed a malignity to it. That which was chiefly urged was, that every new law made in the matter, altered the state of things from what it was when the act for toleration first passed; this gave the dissenters an alarm, they might from thence justly conclude, that one step would be made after another, till the whole effect of that act should be overturned. It did not appear from the behaviour of any among them, that they were not contented with the toleration they enjoyed, or that they were carrying on designs against the church:

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in that case it might be reasonable to look for a farther security, but nothing tending that way was so much as pretended: all went on jealousies and fears, the common topics of sedition. On the other hand, to support the bill, old stories were brought up to shew, how restless and unquiet that sort of men had been in former times. When it came to the question, whether the bill should be read a second time or not, it went for the negative by a majority of twenty lords.

Another debate, that brought the Queen to the House, was concerning Watson, late Lord Bishop of St. David's: his business had been kept long on foot in the courts below, by all the methods of delay that lawyers could invent: after five years pleading the concluding judgment was given in the Exchequer, that he had no right to the temporalities of that bishopric: and that being affirmed in the Exchequer-chamber, it was now by a writ of error brought before the Lords, in the last resort: but as the House seemed now to be set, he had no mind to let it go to a final decision: so he delayed the assigning the errors of judgment, till the days were lapsed, in which, according to a standing order, errors ought to be assigned, upon a writ of error: in default of which, the record was to be sent back. He suffered the time to lapse, though particular notice was ordered to be given him, on the last day, in which, according to the standing order, he might have assigned his errors: and the House sat that day some hours on purpose waiting for it. Some weeks after that, when the session was so near an end, that he thought his cause could not be heard during the session, and so must in course have been put off to another session, he petitioned for leave to assign his errors: this was one of the most solemn orders that related to the judicature of the Lords, and had been the most constantly stood to: it was not therefore thought reasonable to break through it, in favour of so bad a man, of whom they were all ashamed, if parties could have any shame: he had affected, in every step he had made, to seek out all possible delays for keeping the see still void, which by reason of a bad bishop and a long vacancy, was fallen into great disorder; yet, after all this, he had still by law the benefit of a writ of error, which he might bring in any subsequent session of parliament.

Bishop  
Watson's  
practices.



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Some promotions in the church.

Upon this the Queen resolved to fill that see: and she promoted to it the celebrated Dr. Bull, who had writ the learnedest treatise that this age had produced, of the doctrine of the primitive church concerning the Trinity: this had been so well received all Europe over, that in an assembly general of the clergy of France, the Bishop of Meaux was desired to write over to a correspondent he had in London, that they had such a sense of the service he had done their common faith, that upon it they sent him their particular thanks: I read the letter, and so I can deliver it for a certain truth, how uncommon soever it may seem to be. The Queen had a little before this promoted Dr. Beveridge to the see of St. Asaph, who had shewed himself very learned in ecclesiastical knowledge. They were both pious and devout men, but were now declining; both of them being old, and not like to hold out long. Soon after this the see of Lincoln became vacant by that Bishop's death. Dr. Wake was after some time promoted to it; a man eminently learned, an excellent writer, a good preacher, and, which is above all, a man of an exemplary life.

Designs with relation to the Electoress of Hanover.

A design was formed in this session of parliament, but there was not strength enough to carry it on at this time, the Earl of Rochester gave a hint of it in the House of Lords, by saying, that he had a motion of great consequence to the security of the nation, which he would not make at this time, but would do it when next they should meet together. He said no more to the House; but in private discourse he owned it was for bringing over the Electoress of Hanover to live in England: upon this I will digress a little to open the design and the views which he and some others might have in this motion.

It seemed not natural to believe that a party, which had been all along backward at best, and cold in every step that was made in settling the succession in that family, should become all on the sudden such converts as to be zealous for it; so it was not an unreasonable jealousy to suspect, that somewhat lay hid under it. It was thought that they either knew, or did apprehend, that this would not be acceptable to the Queen; and they being highly displeased with the measures she took, went into this design both to vex her, and in hopes that a faction might arise

out of it, which might breed a distraction in our councils, and some of them might hope thereby to revive the Prince of Wales's pretensions. They reckoned such a motion would be popular: and if either the court or the whigs, on whom the court was now beginning to look more favourably, should oppose it, this would cast a load on them as men, who after all the zeal they had expressed for that succession, did now, upon the hopes of favour at court, throw it up: and those who had been hitherto considered as the enemies of that house, might hope, by this motion, to overcome all the prejudices that the nation had taken up against them, and they might create a merit to themselves in the minds of that family, by this early zeal which they resolved now to express for it.

This was set on foot among all the party; but the more sincere among them could not be prevailed on to act so false a part, though they were told this was the likeliest way to advance the pretended Prince of Wales's interests.

I now come to give an account of the last business of this session, with which the parliament ended. It was formerly told what proceedings had been at law upon the election at Aylesbury; the judgment that the Lords gave in that matter was executed, and upon that five others of the inhabitants brought their actions against the constables upon the same grounds. The House of Commons looked on this as a great contempt of their votes, and they voted this a breach of privilege, to which they added a new, and till then unheard-of crime, that it was contrary to the declaration that they had made; upon that they sent their messenger for these five men, and committed them to Newgate, where they lay three months prisoners: they were all the while well supplied, and much visited, so they lay without making any application to the House of Commons: it was not thought advisable to move in such a matter, till all the money bills were passed; then motions were made, in the interval between the terms, upon the statute for a habeas corpus; but the statute relating only to commitments by the royal authority, this did not lie within it.

When the term came, a motion was made in the Queen's Bench upon the common law, in behalf of the prisoners for a habeas corpus; the lawyers who moved it produced the commitment, in which their offence was set forth, that they

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The House  
of Commons  
committed  
to prison  
some of the  
men of  
Aylesbury.

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had claimed the benefit of the law in opposition to a vote of the House of Commons to the contrary; they said the subjects were governed by the laws, which they might, and were bound to know, and not by the votes of a house of parliament, which they were neither bound to know, nor to obey. Three of the judges were of opinion, that the court would take no cognizance of that matter; the Chief Justice was of another mind; he thought a general warrant of commitment for a breach of privilege was of the nature of an execution; and, since the ground of the commitment was specified in the warrant, he thought it plainly appeared that the prisoners had been guilty of no legal offence, and that therefore they ought to be discharged: he was but one against three, so the prisoners were remanded.

Upon that they moved for a writ of error to bring the matter before the Lords; that was only to be come at by petitioning the Queen to order it: the Commons were alarmed at this, and made an address to the Queen, setting forth that they had passed all the money bills, therefore they hoped her Majesty would not grant this. Ten judges agreed, that in civil matters a petition for a writ of error was a petition of right, and not of grace: two of them only were of another mind; it was therefore thought a very strange thing, which might have most pernicious consequences, for a House of Commons to desire the Queen not to grant a petition of right, which was plainly a breach of law and of her coronation oath: they also took on them to affirm, that the writ did not lie; though that was clearly the work of the judicature to declare whether it lay or not, and that was unquestionably the right of the Lords; they only could determine that: the supplying the public occasions was a strange consideration to be offered the Queen as an argument to persuade her to act against law: as if they had pretended that they had bribed her to infringe the law, and to deny justice. Money given for public service was given to the country, and to themselves, as properly as to the Queen.

The Queen answered their address, and in it said, that the stopping proceedings at law, was a matter of such consequence, that she must consider well of it: this was thought so cold that they returned her no thanks for it; though a well-composed House of Commons would cer-



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tainly have thanked her, for that tender regard to law and justice. The House of Commons carried their anger farther; they ordered the prisoners to be taken out of Newgate, and to be kept by their serjeant: they also ordered the lawyers and the solicitors to be taken into custody, for appearing in behalf of the prisoners. These were such strange and unheard-of proceedings, that by them the minds of all the people were much alienated from the House of Commons. But the prisoners were under such management, and so well supported, that they would not submit, nor ask pardon of the House; it was generally believed that they were supplied and managed by the Lord Wharton: they petitioned the House of Lords for relief, and the Lords resolved to proceed in the matter by sure and regular steps. They first came to some general resolutions, that neither house of parliament could assume or create any new privilege, that they had not been formerly possessed of: that subjects claiming their rights in a course of law, against those who had no privilege, could not be a breach of privilege of either house: that the imprisoning the men of Aylesbury, for acting contrary to a declaration made by the House of Commons, was against law: that the committing their friends and their counsel for assisting them, in order to the procuring their liberty in a legal way, was contrary to law: and that the writ of error could not be denied without breaking the magna charta and the laws of England. These resolutions were communicated to the House of Commons at a conference.

They made a long answer to them: in it they set forth, that the right of determining elections was lodged only with them, and that therefore they only could judge who had a right to elect; they only were the judges of their own privileges, the Lords could not intermeddle in it: they quoted very copiously the proceedings in the year 1675, upon an appeal brought against a member of their House; they said their prisoners ought only to apply themselves to them for their liberty, and that no motion had ever been made for a writ of error in such a case. Upon this second conference, according to form, the matter was brought to a free conference, where the point was fully argued on both sides: the city and the body of the nation were on the Lords' side in the matter. Upon this the Lords drew up a full re-



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presentation of the whole thing, and laid it before the Queen, with an earnest prayer to her Majesty, to give order for the writ of error: this was thought so well drawn, that some preferred it to those of the former sessions; it contained a long and clear deduction of the whole affair, with great decency of style, but with many heavy reflections on the House of Commons.

By this time the whole business of the session was brought to a conclusion; for the Lords, who had the money bills, would not pass them, till this was ended: they carried their representation to the Queen, who in answer to it told them, that she would have granted the writ of error, but she saw it was necessary to put a present conclusion to the session. This being reported to the House, was looked on by them as a clear decision in their favour; therefore they ordered their humble thanks to be immediately returned to her Majesty for it. An hour after that, the Queen came to the House of Lords, and passed all the bills, and ended the session, with a speech full of thanks for the supplies so readily granted: she took notice with regret of the effects of the ill humour and animosity that had appeared, and spoke of the narrow escape we had made, which she hoped would teach all persons to avoid such dangerous experiments for the future: this was universally understood to be meant of the tack, as indeed it could be meant of nothing else.

The end of  
the parlia-  
ment.

Thus this session, and with it this parliament, came to an end: it was no small blessing to the Queen, and to the nation, that they had got well out of such hands. They had discovered, on many occasions, and very manifestly, what lay at bottom with most of them, but they had not skill enough to know how to manage their advantages, and to make use of their numbers; the constant successes with which God had blessed the Queen's reign, put it out of their power to compass that which was aimed at by them, the forcing a peace, and of consequence the delivering all up to France. Sir Christopher Musgrave, the wisest man of the party, died before the last session; and by their conduct after his death, it appeared that they wanted his direction. He had been at the head of the opposition, that was made in the last reign from the beginning to the end; but he gave up many points of great importance in the critical minute,

for which I had good reason to believe that he had 12,000*l.* from the late King, at different times. At his death it appeared that he was much richer than, by any visible computation, he could be valued at; which made some cast an imputation on his memory, as if he had received great sums even from France.

I shall conclude the relation of this parliament with an account of some things that were begun, but not perfected by them: there was a bill offered for the naturalization of some hundreds of Frenchmen, to which the Commons added a clause, disabling the persons so naturalized from voting in elections of parliament: the true reason of this was, because it was observed that the French among us gave in all elections their votes for those who were most zealous against France; and yet, with an apparent disingenuity, some gave it as a reason for such a clause, that they must be supposed so partial to the interests of their own country, that it was not fit to give them any share in our government. The Lords looked on this as a new attempt, and the clause added was a plain contradiction to the body of the bill, which gave them all the rights of natural-born subjects, and this took from them the chief of them all, the choosing their representatives in parliament: they would not agree to it, and the Commons resolved not to depart from it; so without coming to a free conference, the bill fell with the session.

Another bill was begun by the Lords against the papists: it was occasioned by several complaints brought from many parts of the kingdom, chiefly from Cheshire, of the practices and insolence of those of that religion: so a bill was ordered to be brought in, with clauses in it, that would have made the act passed against them four years before, prove effectual; which, for want of these, has hitherto been of no effect at all: this passed in the House of Lords, and was sent to the Commons. They had no mind to pass it, but to avoid the ill effects of their refusing such a bill, they added a clause to it, containing severe penalties on papists who should once take the oaths, and come into the communion of our church, if they should be guilty of any occasional conformity with popery afterwards: they fancied that this of occasional conformity was so odious to the Lords, that every clause that condemned it, would be rejected by them:

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Bills that  
were not  
passed.

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but when they came to understand that the Lords were resolved to agree to the clause, they would not put it to that hazard: so the bill lay on their table, and slept till the prorogation.

A general self-denying bill was offered in the House of Commons, by those very men, who, in the first session of parliament, when they hoped for places themselves, had opposed the motion of such a bill with great indignation: now the scene was a little altered, they saw they were not like to be favourites, so they pretended to be patriots. This looked so strangely in them, that it was rejected: but another bill of a more restrained nature passed, disabling some officers, particularly those that were concerned in the Prize Office, from serving in parliament: to this a general clause was added, that disabled all who held any office that had been created since the year 1684, or any office that should be created for the future, from sitting in parliament: this passed among them, and was sent to the Lords, who did not think fit to agree to so general a clause, but consented to a particular disability, put on some offices by name: the Commons did not agree to this alteration; they would have all or nothing: so the bill fell.

The conclusion of the parliament set the whole nation in a general ferment: both sides studied how to dispose people's minds in the new elections, with great industry and zeal: all people looked on the affairs of France, as reduced to such a state, that the war could not run beyond the period of the next parliament: a well-chosen one must prove a public blessing, not only to England, but to all Europe; as a bad one would be fatal to us at home, as well as to our allies abroad: the affairs of France were run very low: all methods of raising money were now exhausted, and could afford no great supplies: so, in imitation of our Exchequer bills, they began to give out mint bills; but they could not create that confidence, which is justly put in parliamentary credit. The French had hopes from their party here in England, and there was a disjoining in the several provinces of the United Netherlands: but as long as we were firm and united, we had a great influence on the states, at least to keep things entire during the war: so it was visible that a good election in England must give such a pros-



pect for three years, as would have a great influence on all the affairs of Europe.

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I must, before I end the relation of the parliament, say somewhat of the convocation that attended upon it, though it was then so little considered, that scarce any notice was taken of them, and they deserved that no mention should be made of them. The lower house continued to proceed with much indecent violence: they still held their intermediate sessions, and brought up injurious and reflecting addresses to the upper house, which gave a very large exercise to the patience and forbearance of the Archbishop and bishops; the Archbishop, after he had borne long with their perverseness, and saw no good effect of it, proceeded to an ecclesiastical monition against their intermediate meetings: this put a stop to that, for they would not venture on the censures, that must in course follow, if no regard was had to the monition. At the final prorogation, the Archbishop dismissed them with a wise, well-composed speech: he laid open to them their indecent behaviour, and the many wrong steps they had made: to this he added a severe, but grave reprimand, with much good advice. The governing men among them were headstrong and factious, and designed to force themselves into preferments by the noise they made, and by the ill humour that they endeavoured to spread among the clergy, who were generally soured, even with relation to the Queen herself, beyond what could be imagined possible.

Proceedings  
in the con-  
vocation.

Now having given a full relation of our counsels and other affairs at home, I shall next consider the progress of those abroad. The first operation of the campaign was before Gibraltar: Leak was sailing from Lisbon thither, and as he went out he met Dilks, who was sent from England to increase his force; by this addition he had a strong fleet of thirty men of war, so he held on his course with all expedition, hoping to find Pointy in the Bay of Gibraltar; but a great storm had blown all but five ships up the Mediterranean. Pointy remained only with these, when he was surprised by Leak, who did quickly overpower him, and took three capital ships; the other two, that were the greatest of them, were run ashore, and burnt near Marbella. Leak sailed to the Levant, to see if he could overtake those ships that the wind had driven from the rest;

The siege of  
Gibraltar  
raised.



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but after a fruitless pursuit for some days, he returned back to Gibraltar : that garrison was now so well supplied, that the Spaniards lost all hopes of being able to take it; so they raised the siege, turning it into a very feeble blockade. This advantage came at the same time that Verue was lost, to balance it.

The Duke of  
Marlbo-  
rough  
marched to  
Triers.

Now the campaign was to be opened, the Duke of Marlborough designed that the Moselle should be the scene of action, and care had been taken to lay up magazines of all sorts in Triers: the states consented that he should carry the greatest part of their army to the Moselle, and resolved to lie on the defensive upon their own frontiers; for they reckoned that how strong soever the Elector of Bavaria's army was at that time, yet whensoever France should be pressed with so great a force as they reckoned would be on the Moselle, he would be ordered to send such detachments thither, that his army would be quickly diminished, and so would not have the superior strength long. Prince Lewis, of Baden, seemed to like this scheme of the campaign so well, and had concurred so cordially in the concert of it during the winter, that no doubt was made of his being both able and willing to enter upon this new scene of the war: but as the Duke of Marlborough was setting out, depending on his concurrence, he received an express from him, excusing himself both on his own want of health, and because the force he had about him was not considerable, nor was that, which he expected, like to come to him so soon as might be wished for. This could not stop the Duke of Marlborough, who had set his heart on opening the campaign in those parts, and had great hopes of success: so he resolved to push the matter as far as he could. He went to the Prince of Baden to concert matters with him; whose ill health seemed only to be a pretence: it was true, that the princes and circles of the empire had not sent in their quotas, but it appeared that there was already strength enough, in conjunction with the army that the Duke of Marlborough was to bring, to advance, and open the campaign with great advantage, at least till detachments should come from other parts: the Prince of Baden at last consented to this, and promised to follow with all the forces he could bring.

The Duke of Marlborough was so satisfied with these

assurances, that he came back to his army, and quickened their march, so that he brought them to Triers; and he advanced eight leagues further, through so many defiles, that the French might easily have made his march both dangerous and difficult. He posted himself very near Marshal Villars's camp, not doubting but that the Prince of Baden would quickly follow him: instead of that, he repeated his former excuse of want of health and force. That which gave the worst suspicions of him was, that it appeared plainly, that the French knew what he intended to do, and their management shewed they depended on it, for they ordered no detachments to increase M. Villars's army: on the contrary, the Elector of Bavaria, having the superior force, pressed the states on their frontier. Huy was besieged and taken, after it had, beyond all expectation, held out ten days: Liege was attacked next; the town was taken, but the citadel held out. Upon this, the states sent to the Duke of Marlborough to march back with all possible haste: he had then eat up the forage round about him, and was out of all hope of the Prince of Baden's coming to join him; so he saw the necessity of marching back, after he had lost some weeks in a fruitless attempt: he made such haste in his march, that he lost many of his men in the way, by fatigue and desertion. The French gave him no trouble, neither while he lay so near their camp, nor when he drew off to march away with so much haste. To complete the ill conduct of the Germans, those who were left with the magazines at Triers, pretending danger, destroyed them all, and abandoning Triers, retired back to the Rhine.

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Expecting  
the Prince  
of Baden.

Who failed  
him.

The Prince of Baden's conduct, through this whole matter, was liable to great censure: the worst suspicion was, that he was corrupted by the French. Those who did not carry their censure so far, attributed his acting as he did to his pride, and thought he, envying the Duke of Marlborough, and apprehending that the whole glory of the campaign would be ascribed to him, since he had the stronger army, chose rather to defeat the whole design, than see another carry away the chief honour of any successes that might have happened. The Duke of Marlborough came back in good time to raise the siege of the citadel of Liege; and he retook Huy in three days: after that, in conjunction

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The Duke of  
Marlbo-  
rough broke  
through the  
French  
lines.

with the Dutch army, he advanced towards the French lines: he for some days amused them with feints; at last he made the attack where he had designed it, and broke through the lines, and gave a great defeat to the body of the French that defended them, with the loss only of seven men on his side; and so without more opposition he came very near Louvain, the Dyle running between his camp and the town: a deluge of rain fell that night, and swelled the Dyle so, that it was not possible to pass it. This gave the French time to recover themselves out of the first consternation that the advantages he had gained put them in: after a few days, when the passing the Dyle was practicable, the Duke of Marlborough gave orders for it: but the French were posted with so much advantage on the other side, that the Dutch generals persuaded the deputies of the states, that they must run a great risk if they should venture to force the passage. The Duke of Marlborough was not a little mortified with this, but he bore it calmly, and moved another way. After some few motions, another occasion was offered, which he intended to lay hold on: orders were given to force the passage; but a motion through a wood, that was thought necessary to support that, was not believed practicable; so the deputies of the states were again possessed with the danger of the attempt; and they thought their affairs were in so good a condition, that such a desperate undertaking, as that seemed to be, was not to be ventured on.

The Dutch  
would not  
venture a  
battle.

This was very uneasy to the Duke, but he was forced to submit to it, though very unwillingly. All agreed that the enterprise was bold and doubtful: some thought it must have succeeded, though with some loss at first; and that if it had succeeded, it might have proved a decisive action: others, indeed, looked on it as too desperate. A great breach was like to arise upon this, both in the army and among the states at the Hague, and in the towns of Holland, in Amsterdam in particular; where the burghers came in a body to the Stadthouse, complaining of the deputies, and that the Duke of Marlborough had not fuller powers.

I can give no judgment in so nice a point, in which military men were of very different opinions, some justifying the Duke of Marlborough, as much as others censured him. He shewed great temper on this occasion; and though it



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gave him a very sensible trouble, yet he set himself to calm all the heat that was raised upon it. The campaign in Flanders produced nothing after this but fruitless marches, while our troops were subsisted in the enemy's country, till the time came of going into winter quarters. Prince Lewis's backwardness, and the caution of the deputies of the states, made this campaign less glorious than was expected; for I never knew the Duke of Marlborough go out so full of hopes as in the beginning of it: but things had not answered his expectations.

This summer the Emperor Leopold died: he was the most knowing and the most virtuous prince of his communion; only he wanted the judgment that was necessary for conducting great affairs in such critical times. He was almost always betrayed, and yet he was so firm to those who had the address to insinuate themselves into his good opinion and confidence, that it was not possible to let him see those miscarriages that ruined his affairs so often, and brought them sometimes near the last extremities: of these every body else seemed more sensible than he himself. He was devout and strict in his religion, and was so implicit in his submission to those priests who had credit with him, the Jesuits in particular, that he owed all his troubles to their counsels. The persecution they began in Hungary raised one great war; which gave the Turks occasion to besiege Vienna, by which he was almost entirely swallowed up: this danger did not produce more caution: after the peace of Carlowitz, there was so much violence and oppression in the government of Hungary, both of papists and protestants, that this raised a second war there, which, in conjunction with the revolt of the Elector of Bavaria, brought him a second time very near utter ruin: yet he could never be prevailed on either to punish, or so much as to suspect, those who had so fatally entangled his affairs; that without foreign aid nothing could have extricated them. He was naturally merciful to a fault, for even the punishment of criminals was uneasy to him. Yet all the cruelty in the persecution of heretics seemed to raise no relenting in him. It could not but be observed by all protestants, how much the ill influence of the popish religion appeared in him, who was one of the mildest and most virtuous princes of the age, since cruelty in the mat-

The Emperor's death and character.



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ters of religion had a full course under him, though it was as contrary to his natural temper, as it was to his interests, and proved oftener than once almost fatal to all his affairs. His son Joseph, elected King of the Romans, succeeded him both in his hereditary and elective dignities. It was given out, that he would apply himself much to business, and would avoid those rocks on which his father had struck, and almost split; and correct those errors to which his father's easiness had exposed him. He promised to those ministers that the Queen and the states had in his court, that he would offer all reasonable terms to the Hungarians; and he consented to their setting a treaty on foot, in which they were to be the mediators, and become the guarantees, for the observance of such articles as should be agreed on; and he gave great hopes that he would not continue in that subjection to the priests with which his father had been captivated.

He desired to confer with the Duke of Marlborough, and to concert all affairs with him: the Queen consented to this, and the Duke went to Vienna, where he was treated with great freedom and confidence, and he had all assurances given him that could be given in words. He found that the Emperor was highly dissatisfied with the Prince of Baden, but he had such credit in the empire, especially with the circles of Suabia and Franconia, that it was necessary to bear with that which could not be helped. The Duke of Marlborough returned through the hereditary dominions to Berlin, where he had learned so perfectly to accommodate himself to that King's temper, that he succeeded in every thing he proposed, and renewed all treaties for one year longer. He came from thence to the court of Hanover, and there he gave them full assurances of the Queen's adhering firmly to their interests, in maintaining the succession to the crown in their family, with which the Elector was fully satisfied; but it appeared that the Electoress had a mind to be invited over to England. From thence he came back to Holland, and it was near the end of the year before he came over to England. Thus I have cast all that relates to him in one continued series, though it ran out into a course of many months.

Affairs in  
Germany.

The German army was not brought together before August: it was a very brave one, yet it did not much; the

French gave way and retired before them : Haguenaw and some other places were left by the French and possessed by the imperialists : a blockade was laid to Fort Lewis. But nothing was done by that noble army, equal either to their numbers and strength, or to the reputation that the Prince of Baden had formerly acquired. This was contrary to the general expectation ; for it was thought, that, being at the head of so great an army, he would have signalized himself, if it had been but to rival the glory that the Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene had acquired.

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Prince Eugene had a hard time in Italy. He had a weak army, and it was both ill-provided and ill-paid : he was long shut up within the country of Bergamo ; at last he broke through to Cusano, where there was a very hot action between him and the Duke of Vendome : both sides pretended they had the victory, yet the Duke of Vendome repassed the river, and the imperialists kept the field of battle. The French threatened Turin with a siege, but they begun with Chivas, which held out some months, and was at last abandoned : the Duke of Feuillade commanded the army near Turin, and seemed to dispose every thing in order to a siege ; but the design was turned upon Nice, though late in the year : they made a brave resistance for many weeks ; in December they were forced to capitulate, and the place was demolished by the French.

And in Italy.

The firmness that the Duke of Savoy expressed under all these losses, was the wonder of all Europe ; he had now but a small army of eight thousand foot and four thousand horse, and had scarce territory enough to support these ; he had no considerable places left him but Turin and Coni ; but he seemed resolved to be driven out of all, rather than abandon the alliance. His Dutchess, with all the clergy, and indeed all his subjects, prayed him to submit to the necessity of his affairs : nothing could shake him : he admitted none of his bishops nor clergy into his councils, and, as his envoy the Count Briancon told me, he had no certain father confessor, but sent sometimes to the Dominicans, and sometimes to the Franciscans for a priest, when he intended to go to confession.

I turn next to Spain, which was this year a scene of most important transactions. The first campaign in Por-

Affairs in Spain.

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tugal, before the hot season, produced nothing : the second campaign seemed to promise somewhat, but the conduct was so feeble, that though the Earl of Gallway did all that was possible to put things in a good posture, yet he saw a disposition in the ministers, and in their whole management, that made him often despair and wish himself out of the service. Fagel, that commanded the Dutch forces, acted in every thing in opposition to him, and it was visible that the ministers did secretly encourage that by which they excused themselves.

A fleet and  
army sent  
to Spain.

King Charles was so disgusted with these proceedings, that he was become quite weary of staying in Portugal : so when the fleet of the allies came to Lisbon with an army on board of above five thousand men, commanded by the Earl of Peterborough, he resolved to go aboard and to try his fortune with them. The Almirante of Castille died about that time : some thought that was a great loss ; though others did not set so high a value upon him, nor on any of the intrigues that were among the grandees at Madrid : they were indeed offended with several small matters in King Philip's conduct, and with the ascendant that the French had in all their councils ; for they saw every thing was directed by orders sent from Versailles, and that their King was really but a viceroy : they were also highly provoked at some innovations made in the ceremonial, which they valued above more important matters ; many seemed disgusted at that conduct, and withdrew from the court. The Marquis of Leganes was considered as most active in infusing jealousies and a dislike of the government into the other grandees, so he was seized on, and sent prisoner to Navarre ; the grandees, in all their conduct, shewed more of a haughty sullenness in maintaining their own privileges, than of a generous resolution to free their country from the slavery under which it was fallen ; they seemed neither to have heads capable of laying any solid designs for shaking off the yoke, nor hearts brave enough to undertake it.

Our fleet sailed from Lisbon with King Charles : they stopped at Gibraltar, and carried along with them the Prince of Hesse, who had been so long Governor of Barcelona, that he knew both the tempers, and the strength, and importance of the place. The first design of this



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expedition was concerted with the Duke of Savoy; and the forces they had on board were either to join him, or to make an attempt on Naples or Sicily, as should be found most advisable: there were agents employed in different parts of Spain to give an account of the disposition people were in, and of what seemed most practicable. A body of men rose in Catalonia about Vick: upon the knowledge King Charles had of this, and upon other advertisements that were sent to our court of the dispositions of those of that principality, the orders which King Charles desired were sent, and brought by a runner that was dispatched from the Queen to the fleet: so the fleet steered to the coast of Catalonia to try what could be done there. The Earl of Peterborough, who had set his heart on Italy, and on Prince Eugene, was not a little displeased with this, as appeared in a long letter from him, which the Lord Treasurer shewed me.

They landed not far from Barcelona, and were joined with many Miquelets, and others of the country; these were good at plundering, but could not submit to a regular discipline, nor were they willing to expose themselves to dangerous services. Barcelona had a garrison of five thousand men in it; these were commanded by officers, who were entirely in the interests of King Philip; it seemed a very unreasonable thing to undertake the siege of such a place, with so small a force; they could not depend on the raw and undisciplined multitudes that came in to join them, who, if things succeeded not in their hands, would soon abandon them, or perhaps study to merit a pardon, by cutting their throats. A council of war was called, to consult on what could be proposed and done: Stanhope, who was one of them, told me, that both English and Dutch were all of opinion, that the siege could not be undertaken with so small a force; those within being as strong as they were, nor did they see any thing else worth the attempting: they therefore thought that no time was to be lost, but that they were all to go again on board, and to consider what course was next to be taken, before the season were spent, when the fleet would be obliged to return back again, and if they could not fix themselves any where before that time, they must sail back with the fleet. The Prince of Hesse only was of opinion, that they ought to sit down before Barce-

They landed  
near Barce-  
lona.



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lona; he said, he had secret intelligence of the good affections of many in the town, who were well-known to him, and on whom he relied, and he undertook to answer for their success: this could not satisfy those who knew nothing of his secrets, and so could only judge of things by what appeared to them.

The King  
pressed the  
siege.

The debate lasted some hours: in conclusion, the King himself spoke near half an hour; he resumed the whole debate, he answered all the objections that were made against the siege; and treated every one of those who had made them, as he answered them, with particular civilities; he supported the truth of what the Prince of Hesse had asserted, as being known to himself; he said, in the state in which his affairs then stood, nothing could be proposed that had not great difficulties in it, all was doubtful, and much must be put to hazard; but this seemed less dangerous than any other thing that was proposed: many of his subjects had come and declared for him, to the hazard of their lives; it became him therefore to let them see, that he would run the same hazard with them: he desired that they would stay so long with him, till such attempts should be made, that all the world might be convinced that nothing could be done, and he hoped that till that appeared, they would not leave him; he added, that if their orders did oblige them to leave him, yet he could not leave his own subjects: upon this they resolved to sit down before Barcelona. They were all amazed to see so young a prince, so little practised in business, argue in so nice a point, with so much force, and conclude with such heroical resolutions. This proved happy in many respects: it came to be known afterwards, that the Catalans and Miquelets, who had joined them, hearing that they were resolved to abandon them, and go back to their ships, had resolved, either out of resentment, or that they might merit their pardon, to murder as many of them as they could. When this small army sat down before Barcelona, they found they were too weak to besiege it; they could scarce mount their cannon: when they came to examine their stores, they found them very defective; and far short of the quantities that by their lists they expected to find: whether this flowed from treachery or carelessness, I will not determine; there is much of both in all our offices. It soon appeared, that the intelligence was true

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concerning the inclinations of those in the town, their affections were entire for King Charles: but they were overawed by the garrison, and by Velasco, who, as well as the Duke of Popoli, who had the chief command, was devoted to the interests of King Philip. Deserters came daily from the town and brought them intelligence: the most considerable thing was, that Fort Montjuy was very ill guarded, it being thought above their strength to make an attempt on it; so it was concluded that all the hopes of reducing Barcelona, lay in the success of their design on that fort. Two bodies were ordered to march secretly that night, and to move towards the other side of Barcelona, that the true design might not be suspected, for all the hopes of success lay in the secrecy of the march. The first body consisted of eight hundred, and both the Prince of Hesse and the Earl of Peterborough led them: the other body consisted of six hundred, who were to follow these at some distance; and were not to come above half way up the hill till further order: Stanhope led this body, from whom I had this account. They drew up with them some small field pieces and mortars; they had taken a great compass, and had marched all night, and were much fatigued by the time that they had gained the top of the hill; three hundred of them, being commanded to another side of the fort, were separated from the rest, and, mistaking their way, fell into the hands of a body of men, sent up from the town to reinforce the garrison in the fort: before they were separated, the whole body had attacked the outworks, and carried them; but while the Prince of Hesse was leading on his men, he received a shot in his body, upon which he fell; yet he would not be carried off, but continued too long in the place giving orders, and died in a few hours, much and justly lamented. The governor of the fort, seeing a small body in possession of the outworks, resolved to sally out upon them, and drew up four hundred men in order to it; these would soon have mastered a small and wearied body, disheartened by so great a loss; so that if he had followed his resolution, all was lost, for all that Stanhope could have done, was, to receive and bring off such as could get to him; but one of those newly taken, happening to cry out, "O poor Prince of Hesse!" the governor, hearing this, called for him, and examined him, and when he learned that both the Prince of

Fort Mont-  
juy attack-  
ed.

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Hesse and the Earl of Peterborough were with that body, he concluded that the whole army was certainly coming up after them; and reflecting on that, he thought it was not fit for him to expose his men, since he believed the body they were to attack would be soon much superior to him; so he resolved not to risk a sally, but to keep within and maintain the fort against them. Thus the Earl of Peterborough continued quiet in the outworks, and being reinforced with more men, he attacked the fort, but with no great hopes of succeeding: he threw a few bombs into it; one of these fell happily into the magazine of powder, and blew it up: by this, the governor and some of the best officers were killed, which struck the rest with such a consternation, that they delivered up the place. This success gave them great hopes, the town lying just under the hill which the fort stood on: upon this, the party in Barcelona, that was well affected to King Charles, began to take heart, and to shew themselves: and after a few days' siege, another happy bomb fell with so good an effect, that the garrison was forced to capitulate.

And taken.

Barcelona  
capitulated.

King Charles was received into Barcelona with great expressions of joy: in the first transport, they seemed resolved to break through the articles granted to the garrison, and to make sacrifices of the chief officers at least. Upon that the Earl of Peterborough, with Stanhope and other officers, rode about the streets, to stop this fury, and to prevail with the people to maintain their articles religiously; and in doing this, Stanhope said to me, they ran a greater hazard, from the shooting and fire that was flying about in that disorder, than they had done during the whole siege: they at last quieted the people, and the articles of capitulation were punctually observed. Upon this unexpected success, the whole principality of Catalonia declared for King Charles: I will not prosecute this relation so minutely in other parts of it, having set down so particularly that which I had from so good a hand, chiefly to set forth the signal steps of Providence that did appear in this matter.

King  
Charles's  
letters.

Soon after, our fleet sailed back to England, and Stanhope was sent over in it, to give a full relation of this great transaction: by him King Charles wrote to the Queen a long and clear account of all his affairs; full of great acknowledgments of her assistance, with a high commenda-



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tion of all her subjects, more particularly of the Earl of Peterborough: the Queen was pleased to shew me the letter; it was all writ in his own hand, and the French of it was so little correct, that it was not like what a secretary would have drawn for him: so from that I concluded he penned it himself. The Lord Treasurer had likewise another long letter from him, which he shewed me: it was all in his own hand: one correction seemed to make it evident that he himself composed it. He wrote towards the end of the letter, that he must depend on his protection; upon reflection, that word seemed not fit for him to use to a subject, so it was dashed out, but the letters were still plain, and instead of it, Application was writ over head: these letters gave a great idea of so young and unexperienced a prince, who was able to write with so much clearness, judgment, and force. By all that is reported of the Prince of Lichtenstein, that King could not receive any great assistance from him: he was spoken of, as a man of a low genius, who thought of nothing but the ways of enriching himself, even at the hazard of ruining his master's business.

Our affairs at sea were more prosperous this year, than they had been formerly: in the beginning of the season our cruizers took so many of the French privateers, that we had some thousands of their seamen in our hands: we kept such a squadron before Brest, that the French fleet did not think fit to venture out; and their Toulon squadron had suffered so much in the action of the former years, that they either could not, or would not venture out: by this means our navigation was safe, and our trade was prosperous.

The second campaign in Portugal ended worse than the first: Badajos was besieged, and the Earl of Gallway hoped he should have been quickly master of it; but his hopes were not well grounded, for the siege was raised: in one action the Earl of Gallway's arm was broke by a cannon-ball: it was cut off, and for some days his life was in great danger; the miscarriage of the design heightening the fever that followed his wound, by the vexation that it gave him. But now upon the news from Catalonia, the councils of Portugal were quite changed: they had a better prospect than formerly of the reduction of Spain:

Affairs at sea.

The siege of Badajos raised.

The councils of Portugal.



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the war was now divided, which lay wholly upon them before: and the French party in that court had no more the old pretence to excuse their councils by, which was, that it was not fit for them to engage themselves too deep in that war, nor to provoke the Spaniards too much, and so expose themselves to revenges; if the allies should despair and grow weary of the war, and recall their troops and fleets. But now that they saw the war carried on so far, in the remotest corner of Spain, which must give a great diversion to King Philip's forces, it seemed a much safer, as well as it was an easier thing, to carry on the war with more vigour for the future. Upon this all possible assurances were given the Earl of Gallway, that things should be conducted hereafter fully to his content. So that by two of his dispatches, which the Lord Treasurer shewed me, it appeared that he was then fully convinced of the sincerity of their intentions, of which he was in great doubt, or rather despairing formerly.

Affairs in  
Hungary.

In Hungary matters went on very doubtfully: Transylvania was almost entirely reduced; Ragotzi had great misfortunes there, as the court of Vienna published the progress of the new emperor's arms, but this was not much depended on: They could not conceal on the other hand the great ravages that the malecontents made in other places: so that Hungary continued to be a scene of confusion and plunder.

And in Po-  
land.

Poland was no better: King Augustus's party continued firm to him, though his long stay in Saxony gave credit to a report spread about, that he was resolved to abandon that kingdom, and to return to it no more: this summer passed over in motions, and actions of no great consequence: what was gained in one place, was lost in another. Stanislaus got himself to be crowned: the old Cardinal, though summoned to Rome, would not go thither: he suffered himself to be forced to own Stanislaus, but died before his coronation, and that ceremony was performed by the Bishop of Cujavia: the Muscovites made as great ravages in Lithuania, as they had done formerly in Livonia: the King of Sweden was in perpetual motion: but though he endeavoured it much, he could not bring things to a decisive action. In the beginning of winter, King Augustus, with two persons only, broke through Poland in

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disguise, and got to the Muscovite army, which was put under his command. The campaign went on all the winter season, which, considering the extreme cold in those parts, was thought a thing impracticable before. In the spring after, Reinschild, a Swedish general, fell upon the Saxon army, that was far superior to his in number: he had not above ten thousand men, and the Saxons were about eighteen thousand: he gave them a total defeat, killed about seven thousand, and took eight thousand prisoners, and their camp, baggage, and artillery: numbers upon such occasions are often swelled, but it is certain this was an entire victory: the Swedes gave it out, that they had not lost a thousand men in the action; and yet even this great advantage was not like to put an end to the war, nor to the distractions into which that miserable kingdom was cast. In it the world saw the mischiefs of an elective government, especially when the electors have lost their virtue, and set themselves to sale. The King of Sweden continued in an obstinate aversion to all terms of peace: his temper, his courage, and his military conduct were much commended; only all said he grew too savage, and was so positive and peremptory in his resolutions, that no applications could soften him: he would scarce admit them to be made: he was said to be devout almost to enthusiasm, and he was severely engaged in the Lutheran rigidity, almost equally against papists and Calvinists: only his education was so much neglected, that he had not an equal measure of knowledge to direct his zeal.

This is such a general view of the state of Europe this summer, as may serve to shew how things went on in every part of it. I now return to England. The election of the members of the House of Commons was managed with zeal and industry on both sides: the clergy took great pains to infuse into all people tragical apprehensions of the danger the church was in. The universities were inflamed with this, and they took all means to spread it over the nation with much vehemence. The danger the church of England was in, grew to be as the word given in an army; men were known as they answered it: none carried this higher than the jacobites, though they had made a schism in the church. At last, even the papists, both at

A parliament  
chosen  
in England.

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home and abroad, seemed to be disturbed with the fears that the danger our church was in put them under: and this was supported by the *Paris Gazette*, though the party seemed concerned and ashamed of that. Books were writ and dispersed over the nation with great industry, to possess all the people with the apprehensions that the church was to be given up, that the bishops were betraying it, and that the court would sell it to the dissenters. They also hoped, that this campaign, proving less prosperous than had been expected, might put the nation into ill humour, which might furnish them with some advantages. In opposition to all this, the court acted with such caution and coldness, that the whigs had very little strength given them by the ministers, in managing elections: they seemed rather to look on as indifferent spectators, but the whigs exerted themselves with great activity and zeal. The dissenters, who had been formerly much divided, were now united entirely in the interest of the government, and joined with the whigs every where.

When the elections were all over, the court took more heart: for it appeared that they were sure of a great majority, and the Lord Godolphin declared himself more openly, than he had done formerly, in favour of the whigs. The first instance given of this was the dismissing of Wright, who had continued so long lord keeper, that he was fallen under a high degree of contempt on all sides, even the tories, though he was wholly theirs, despising him. He was sordidly covetous, and did not at all live suitably to that high post: he became extremely rich, yet I never heard him charged with bribery in his court; but there was a foul rumour, with relation to the livings of the crown, that were given by the great seal, as if they were set to sale by the officers under him.

Cowper  
lord keeper.

The seals being sent for, they were given to Cowper, a gentleman of a good family, of excellent parts, and of an engaging deportment, very eminent in his profession, and who had for many years been considered, as the man who spoke the best of any in the House of Commons: he was a very acceptable man to the whig party: they had been much disgusted with the Lord Treasurer, for the coldness he expressed, as if he would have maintained a neutrality

between the two parties, though the one supported him, while the other designed to ruin him : but this step went a great way towards the reconciling the whigs to him.

A session of parliament met this summer in Scotland : there was a change made in the ministry there : those who were employed in the former session, could not undertake to carry a majority ; so all the Duke of Queensberry's friends were again brought into employment. The Duke of Argyle's instructions were, that he should endeavour to procure an act, settling the succession as it was in England, or to set on foot a treaty for the union of the two kingdoms. When he came to Scotland, and laid his instructions before the rest of the ministers there, the Marquis of Annandale pressed that they should first try that, which was first named in the instructions, and he seemed confident, that if all who were in employments would concur in it, they should be able to carry it. Those of another mind, who were in their hearts for the pretended Prince of Wales, put this by with great zeal : they said they must not begin with that, which would meet with great opposition, and be perhaps rejected : that would beget such an union of parties, that if they miscarried in the one, they would not be able to carry the other ; therefore they thought that the first proposition should be for the union : that was popular, and seemed to be a remote thing ; so there would be no great opposition made to a general act about it. Those who intended still to oppose it, would reckon they would find matter enough in the particulars, to raise a great opposition, and so to defeat it. This course was agreed on, at which the Marquis of Annandale was so highly offended that he concurred no more in the councils of those who gave the other advice. Some did sincerely desire the union, as that which would render the whole island happy : others were in their hearts against it ; they thought it was a plausible step, which they believed would run, by a long treaty, into a course of some years ; that during that time, they would be continued in their employments, and they seemed to think it was impossible so to adjust all matters, as to frame such a treaty as would pass in the parliament of both kingdoms. The jacobites concurred all heartily in this : it kept the settling the succession at a distance, and very few looked on the motion for the union, as any thing but a pre-

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An act for a  
treaty of  
union pass-  
ed.



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tence to keep matters yet longer in suspense: so this being proposed in parliament, it was soon and readily agreed to, with little or no opposition. But that being over, complaints were made of the acts passed in the parliament of England: which carried such an appearance of threatening, that many thought it became them not to enter on a treaty till these should be repealed. It was carried, but not without difficulty, that no clause relating to that should be in the act, that empowered the Queen to name the commissioners; but that an address should be made to the Queen, praying her that no proceedings should be made in the treaty, till the act that declared the Scotch aliens by such a day, should be repealed. They also voted, that none of that nation should enter upon any such treaty till that were first done. This was popular, and no opposition was made to it; but those who had ill intentions hoped that all would be defeated by it. The session run out into a great length, and in the harvest time, which put the country to a great charge.

The state of  
Ireland.

In Ireland, the new heat among the protestants there, raised in the Earl of Rochester's time, and connived at, if not encouraged by the Duke of Ormond, went on still: a body of hot clergymen, sent from England, began to form meetings in Dublin, and to have emissaries and a correspondence over Ireland, on design to raise the same fury in the clergy of that kingdom against the dissenters, that they had raised here in England. Whether this was only the effect of an unthinking and ill-governed heat among them, or if it was set on by foreign practices, was not yet visible. It did certainly serve their ends; so that it was not to be doubted, that they were not wanting in their endeavours to keep it up, and to promote it, whether they were the original contrivers of it or not; for indeed hot men, not practised in affairs, are apt enough, of their own accord, to run into wild and unreasonable extravagances.

A parliament in Eng-  
land.

The parliament of England met in the end of October: the first struggle was about the choice of a speaker, by which a judgment was to be made of the temper and inclinations of the members. The court declared for Mr. Smith: he was a man of clear parts, and of a good expression: he was then in no employment, but he had gone through great posts in the former reign, with reputation and honour. He

A speaker  
chosen.

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had been a commissioner of the Treasury and chancellor of the Exchequer: he had, from his first setting out in the world, been thoroughly in the principles and interests of the whigs, yet with a due temper in all personal things, with relation to the tories: but they all declared against him for Mr. Bromley, a man of a grave deportment and good morals, but looked on as a violent tory, and as a great favourer of jacobites, which appeared evidently in a relation he printed of his travels. No matter of that sort had ever been carried with such heat on both sides, as this was; so that it was just to form a judgment upon it of the temper of the House. It went for Mr. Smith, by a majority of forty-four.

The Queen, after she had confirmed this choice, made a speech, in which she recommended union to them in a very particular manner: she complained of the reports that were spread by ill-designing men, of the danger the church was in, who under these insinuations covered that, which they durst not own: she recommended the care of the public supplies to the Commons, and spoke of the Duke of Savoy in high and very obliging terms. This produced addresses from both Houses, in which they expressed a detestation of those practices of infusing into her subjects groundless fears concerning the church: this went easily; for some kept out of the way, from whom it was expected that they would afterwards open more copiously on the subject. The chairmen of the several committees of the House of Commons were men of whom the court was well assured.

The first matter, with which they commonly begin, is to receive petitions against the members returned, so that gave a further discovery of the inclinations of the majority: the corruption of the nation was grown to such a height, and there was so much foul practice on all hands, that there was, no doubt, great cause of complaint. The first election that was judged, was that of St. Albans, where the Dutchess of Marlborough had a house: she recommended Admiral Killigrew to those in the town, which was done all England over, by persons of quality who had any interest in the burghers: yet, though much foul practice was proved on the other hand, and there was not the least colour of evidence to fix any ill practice on her, some reflected very indecently upon her: Bromley compared her to Alice Piers, in King Edward the Third's time, and said many other viru-

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lent things against her; for indeed she was looked upon, by the whole party, as the person who had reconciled the whigs to the Queen, from whom she was naturally very averse. Most of the controverted elections were carried in favour of the whigs; in some few they failed, more by reason of private animosities, than by the strength of the other side. The House of Commons came readily in to vote all the supplies that were asked, and went on to provide proper funds for them.

The most important debates that were in this session began in the House of Lords; the Queen being present at them all. The Lord Haversham opened the motions of the tory side. He arraigned the Duke of Marlborough's conduct, both on the Moselle and in Brabant, and reflected severely on the Dutch, which he carried so far as to say, that the war cost them nothing; and after he had wandered long in a rambling discourse, he came at last to the point which was laid to be the debate of the day: he said we had declared a successor to the crown, who was at a great distance from us, while the Pretender was much nearer; and Scotland was armed and ready to receive him, and seemed resolved not to have the same successor, for whom England had declared. These were threatening dangers that hung over us, and might be near us. He concluded, that he did not see how they could be prevented, and the nation made safe, by any other way, but by inviting the next successor to come and live among us. The Duke of Buckingham, the Earls of Rochester, Nottingham, and Anglesey, carried on the debate with great earnestness. It was urged, that they had sworn to maintain the succession, and by that they were bound to insist on this motion, since there was no means so sure to maintain it, as to have the successor upon the spot, ready to assume and maintain his right. It appeared through our whole history, that whosoever came first into England had always carried it: the pretending successor might be in England within three days, whereas it might be three weeks before the declared successor could come: from thence it was inferred, that the danger was apparent and dreadful, if the successor should not be brought over. If King Charles had been in Spain, when the late King died, probably that would have prevented all this war, in which we were now engaged. With

Debates  
about the  
next suc-  
cessor.



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these Lords, by a strange reverse, all the Tories joined, and by another, and as strange a reverse, all the Whigs joined in opposing it. They thought this matter was to be left wholly to the Queen; that it was neither proper nor safe, either for the crown or for the nation, that the heir should not be in an entire dependance on the Queen; a rivalry between two courts might throw us into great distractions, and be attended with very ill consequences. The next successor had expressed a full satisfaction, and rested on the assurances the Queen had given her, of her firm adherence to her title, and to the maintaining of it. The nation was prepared for it, by the orders the Queen had given to name her in the daily prayers of the church; great endeavours had been used to bring the Scotch nation to declare the same successor. It was true, we still wanted one great security; we had not yet made any provision for carrying on the government, for maintaining the public quiet, for proclaiming and sending for the successor, and for keeping things in order till the successor should come: it seemed, therefore, necessary to make an effectual provision against the disorders that might happen in such an interval. This was proposed first by myself, and it was seconded by the Lord Godolphin, and all the Whigs went into it; and so the question was put upon the other motion, as first made by a previous division, whether that should be put or not, and was carried in the negative by about three to one.

The Queen heard the debate, and seemed amazed at the behaviour of some, who, when they had credit with her, and apprehended that such a motion might be made by the Whigs, had possessed her with deep prejudices against it: for they made her apprehend, that when the next successor should be brought over, she herself would be so eclipsed by it, that she would be much in the successor's power, and reign only at her or his courtesy: yet these very persons, having now lost their interest in her, and their posts, were driving on that very motion, which they had made her apprehend was the most fatal thing that could befall. This the Dutchess of Marlborough told me, but she named no person: and upon it a very black suspicion was taken up, by some, that the proposers of this matter knew, or at least believed, that the Queen would not agree to the motion, which way soever it might be brought to her; whe-



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ther in an address or in a bill : and then they might reckon, that this would give such a jealousy, and create such a misunderstanding between her and the parliament, or rather the whole nation, as would unsettle her whole government, and put all things in disorder. But this was only a suspicion, and more cannot be made of it.

A bill for  
a regency.

The Lords were now engaged to go on in the debate for a regency : it was opened by the Lord Wharton in a manner that charmed the whole house. He had not been present at the former debate, but he said he was much delighted with what he had heard concerning it ; he said he had ever looked on the securing a protestant succession to the crown, as that which secured all our happiness : he had heard the Queen recommend from the throne, union and agreement to all her subjects, with a great emotion in his own mind : it was now evident, that there was a divinity about her when she spoke ; the cause was certainly supernatural, for we saw the miracle that was wrought by it ; now all were for the protestant succession ; it had not been always so : he rejoiced in their conversion, and confessed it was a miracle : he would not, he could not, he ought not to suspect the sincerity of those who moved for inviting the next successor over ; yet he could not hinder himself from remembering what had passed, in a course of many years ; and how men had argued, voted, and protested all that while. This confirmed his opinion that a miracle was now wrought, and that might oblige some to shew their change, by an excess of zeal, which he could not but commend, though he did not fully agree to it. After this preamble, he opened the proposition for the regency, in all the branches of it : that regents should be empowered to act, in the name of the successor, till he should send over orders : that besides those whom the parliament should name, the next successor should send over the nomination sealed up, and to be opened when that accident should happen, of persons who should act in the same capacity, with those who should be named by parliament : so the motion being thus digested, was agreed to by all the whigs, and a bill was ordered to be brought in, pursuant to these propositions. But upon the debate on the heads of the bill, it did appear that the conversation, which the Lord Wharton had so pleasantly magnified, was not so entire as he seemed to suppose :

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there was some cause given to doubt of the miracle; for when a security, that was real and visible, was offered, those who made the other motion flew off from it. They pretended, that it was because they could not go off from their first motion; but they were told, that the immediate successor might, indeed, during her life, continue in England; yet it was not to be supposed, that her son, the Elector, could be always absent from his own dominions, and throw off all care of them, and of the concerns of the empire, in which he bore so great a share. If he should go over, for ever so short a time, the accident might happen, in which it was certainly necessary to provide such an expedient, as was now offered. This laid them open to much censure, but men engaged in parties are not easily put out of countenance. It was resolved, that the regents should be seven and no more; and they were fixed by the post they were in: the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Keeper, the Lord Treasurer, Lord President, Lord Privy Seal, Lord High Admiral, and the Lord Chief Justice, for the time being, were named for that high trust. The Tories struggled hard that the Lord Treasurer should not be one, only to shew their spite to the Lord Godolphin, but the motion was rejected with scorn; for it seemed ridiculous, in a time when there might be much occasion for money, to exclude an officer from that high trust, who alone could furnish them with it, or direct them how to be furnished. The Tories moved that the Lord Mayor of London should be one, but that was likewise rejected: for the design of the act was, that the government should be carried on, by those who should be at that time in the conduct and secret of affairs, and were persons nominated by the Queen; whereas the Lord Mayor was chosen by the city, and had no practice in business. These regents were required to proclaim the next successor, and to give orders for the like proclamation over England and Ireland. The next successor might send a triplicate of the persons, named by her or him; one of these was to be deposited with the Archbishop of Canterbury, another with the Lord Keeper, and a third with his own minister, residing at this court; upon the producing whereof, the persons nominated were to join with the regents, and to act in equality with them: the last parliament, even though dissolved, was to be pre-

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Great oppo-  
sition made  
to it.

sently brought together, and empowered to continue sitting for six months; and thus things were to be kept in order, till the successor should either come in person, or send over his orders.

The tories made some opposition to every branch of the act; but in that of the parliament's sitting, the opposition was more remarkable. The Earl of Rochester moved, that the parliament and the regents should be limited to pass no act of repeal of any part of the act of uniformity; and in his positive way said, if this was not agreed to, he should still think the church was in danger, notwithstanding what they had heard from the throne in the beginning of the session. It was objected to this, that if the regal power was in the regents, and if the parliament was likewise a legal one, then by the constitution the whole legislature was in them, and that could not be limited: for they could repeal any law that limited them; but the judges were of opinion, that the power of regents might be limited: so that, as the design of moving this might be to have a new colour to possess the clergy, that there was a secret design against the church, which might break out at such a time, the Lords gave way to it, though they thought it unreasonable, and proposed with no good design. The tories, upon the yielding this to them, proposed a great many more limitations, such as the restraining the regents from consenting to a repeal of the act for triennial parliaments, the acts for trials in cases of treason, and some others; and so extravagant were they in their design of making the act appear ridiculous, that they proposed as a limitation, that they should not have power to repeal the acts of succession: all these were rejected with scorn and indignation; the Lords seeing by this their error in yielding to that proposed by the Earl of Rochester: the bill passed in the House of Lords, but the tories protested against it.

I never knew any thing in the management of the tories by which they suffered more in their reputation than by this: they hoped that the motion for the invitation would have cleared them of all suspicions of inclinations towards the pretended Prince of Wales, and would have reconciled the body of the nation to them, and turned them against all who should oppose it: but the progress of the matter produced a contrary effect. The management was so ill



disguised, that it was visible they intended only to provoke the Queen by it, hoping that the provocation might go so far, that in the sequel all their designs might be brought about, though by a method that seemed quite contrary to them, and destructive of them.

The bill lay long in the House of Commons, by a secret management that was against it: the tories there likewise proposed that the next successor should be brought over, which was opposed by the whigs, not by any vote against it, but by resolving to go through the Lords' bill first: the secret management was from Hanover. Some indigent persons, and others employed by the tories, had studied to infuse jealousies of the Queen and her ministers into the old Electoress. She was then seventy-five; but had still so much vivacity, that as she was the most knowing, and the most entertaining woman of the age, so she seemed willing to change her scene, and to come and shine among us here in England; they prevailed with her to write a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, intimating her readiness to come over, if the Queen and parliament should desire it: this was made public by the intriguing persons in that court: and a colour was soon found to keep some whigs from agreeing to the act. In the act that first settled the succession, one limitation (as was told in its proper place,) had been, that when the crown should pass into that House, no man who had either place or pension should be capable of sitting in the House of Commons: the clause in this bill, that empowered either the parliament that should be current at the Queen's death, or that which had sat last, (though dissolved,) to sit for six months, or till the successor should dissolve it, seemed contrary to this incapacitating clause in the former act. Great exceptions were taken to this by some zealous whigs, who were so possessed with the notion of a self-denying bill, as necessary to preserve public liberty from the practices of a designing court, that for some weeks there was cause to fear, not only the loss of the bill, but a breach among the whigs upon this head: much pains were taken, and with very good effect, to heal this: it was at last settled; a great many offices were enumerated, and it was declared that every man who held any of these, was thereby incapacitated from sitting in the House of Commons; and every

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A secret  
management  
in the House  
of Com-  
mons.



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The act of  
the regency  
passed.

member of the House, who did not accept of any other office, was upon that excluded the House, and a new writ was to go out to those whom he represented to choose again; but it was left free to them to choose him, or any other as they pleased. It was desired by those who pressed this matter most, that it should take place only in the next reign; but, to remove all jealousy, the ministers were content that these clauses should take place immediately, upon the dissolution of the present parliament. And when the House of Commons sent up these self-denying clauses to the Lords, they added to them a repeal of that clause in the first act of succession, by which the succeeding princes were limited to govern by the advice of their council, and by which all the privy-counsellors were to be obliged to sign their advices, which was impracticable, since it was visible that no man would be a privy-counsellor on those terms: the Lords added the repeal of this clause, to the amendments sent up by the Commons; and the Commons readily agreed to it.

The dangers  
of the church  
inquired  
into.

After this act had passed, the Lord Hallifax, remembering what the Earl of Rochester had said concerning the danger the church might be in, moved that a day might be appointed to inquire into those dangers, about which so many tragical stories had been published of late: a day was appointed for this, and we were all made believe that we should hear many frightful things; but our expectations were not answered: some spoke of danger from the presbytery that was settled in Scotland: some spoke of the absence of the next successor: some reflected on the occasional bill that was rejected in that House: some complained of the schools of the dissenters: and others reflected on the principles that many had drank in, that were different from those formerly received, and that seemed destructive of the church.

In opposition to all this it was said, that the church was safer now than ever it had been: at the Revolution, provision was made that our king must be of the reformed religion; nor was this all, in the late act of succession it was enacted, that he should be of the communion of the church of England. It was not reasonable to object to the House rejecting a bill, which was done by the majority, of whom it became not the lesser number to complain: we

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had all our former laws left to us, not only entire, but fortified by late additions and explanations; so that we were safer in all these, than we had been at any time formerly: the dissenters gained no new strength, they were visibly decreasing: the toleration had softened their tempers, and they concurred zealously in serving all the ends of the government: nor was there any particular complaint brought against them: they seemed quiet and content with their toleration, if they could be but secure of enjoying it: the Queen was taking the most effectual means possible to deliver the clergy from the depressions of poverty, that brought them under much contempt, and denied them the necessary means and helps of study. The bishops looked after their dioceses with a care that had not been known in the memory of man. Great sums were yearly raised by their care and zeal, for serving the plantations, better than had ever yet been done: a spirit of zeal and piety appeared in our churches, and at sacrament beyond the example of former times. In one respect it was acknowledged the church was in danger; there was an evil spirit and a virulent temper spread among the clergy; there were many indecent sermons preached on public occasions, and those hot clergymen, who were not the most regular in their lives, had raised factions in many dioceses against their bishops: these were dangers created by those very men who filled the nation with this outcry against imaginary ones, while their own conduct produced real and threatening dangers. Many severe reflections were thrown out on both sides in the progress of this debate.

It ended in a vote, carried by a great majority, that the church of England, under the Queen's happy administration, was in a safe and flourishing condition; and to this a severe censure was added on the spreaders of these reports of dangers; that they were the enemies of the Queen and of her government. They also resolved to make an address to the Queen, in which, after this was set forth, they prayed her to order a prosecution, according to law, of all who should be found guilty of this offence. They sent this down to the House of Commons, where the debate was brought over again, but it was run down with great force. The Commons agreed with the Lords, and both houses went together to the Queen with this address. Such a concur-

A vote and  
an address  
to the Queen  
about that.

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rence of both houses had not been seen for some years; and, indeed, there was in both so great a majority for carrying on all the interests of the government, that the men of ill intentions had no hopes, during the whole session, of embroiling matters, but in the debates concerning the self-denying clause abovementioned.

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Complaints  
of the allies  
rejected.

But though the main designs and hopes of the party had thus not only failed them, but turned against them; yet they resolved to make another attempt: it was on the Duke of Marlborough, though they spoke of him with great respect. They complained of the errors committed this year in the conduct of the war: they indeed laid the blame of the miscarriage of the design on the Moselle on the Prince of Baden, and the errors committed in Brabant on the states and their deputies; but they said they could not judge of these things, nor be able to lay before the Queen those advices that might be fit for them to offer to her, unless they were made acquainted with the whole series of those affairs; therefore they proposed, that by an address they might pray the Queen to communicate to them all that she knew concerning those transactions during the last campaign: for they reckoned, that if all particulars should be laid before them, they would find somewhat in the Duke of Marlborough's conduct on which a censure might be fixed: to this it was answered, that if any complaint was brought against any of the Queen's subjects, it would be reasonable for them to inquire into it by all proper ways: but the House of Lords could not pretend to examine or to censure the conduct of the Queen's allies: they were not subject to them, nor could they be heard to justify themselves: and it was somewhat extraordinary if they should pass a censure or make a complaint of them. It was one of the trusts that was lodged with the government to manage all treaties and alliances: so that our commerce with our allies was wholly in the crown: allies might sometimes fail, being not able to perform what they undertook: they are subject both to errors and accidents, and are sometimes ill served. The entering into that matter was not at all proper for the House, unless it was intended to run into rash and indiscreet censures, on design to provoke the allies, and by that means to weaken, if not break the alliance:



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the Queen would, no doubt, endeavour to redress whatsoever was amiss, and that must be trusted to her conduct.

So this attempt not only failed, but it happened upon this, as upon other occasions, that it was turned against those who made it: an address was made to the Queen, praying her to go on in her alliances, and in particular to cultivate a perfect union and correspondence with the states of the United Provinces: this had a very good effect in Holland, for the agents of France were, at the same time, both spreading reports among us, that the Dutch were inclined to a peace, and among them, that the English had very unkind thoughts of them. The design was to alienate us from one another, that so both might be thereby the better disposed to hearken to a project of peace; which in the state in which matters were at that time, was the most destructive thing that could be thought on: and all motions that looked that way, gave very evident discoveries of the bad intentions of those who made them.

The next business of a public nature that came before the parliament, was carried very unanimously. The Queen laid before the two houses the addresses of the Scotch parliament against any progress in the treaty of union, till the act which declared them aliens by such a day should be repealed: the tories, upon this occasion, to make themselves popular, after they had failed in many attempts, resolved to promote this; apprehending that the whigs, who had first moved for that act, would be for maintaining their own work: but they seemed to be much surprised, when, after they had prefaced their motions in this matter, with such declarations of their intentions for the public good, that shewed they expected opposition and a debate, the whigs not only agreed to this, but carried the motion further, to the other act relating to their manufacture and trade: this passed very unanimously in both houses; and by this means way was made for opening a treaty as soon as the session should come to an end. All the northern parts of England, which had been disturbed for some years with apprehensions of a war with Scotland, that would certainly be mischievous to them, whatsoever the end of it might prove, were much delighted with the prospect of peace and union with their neighbours.

The acts  
against the  
Scots re-  
pealed.

These were the most important debates during this session.



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sion; at all which the Queen was present: she staid all the while, and hearkened to every thing with great attention. The debates were managed on the one side by the Lords Godolphin, Wharton, Somers, Hallifax, Sunderland, and Townshend; on the other side by the Duke of Buckingham, and the Lords Rochester, Nottingham, Anglesey, Guernsey, and Haversham. There was so much strength and clearness on the one side, and so much heat and artifice on the other, that nothing but obstinate partiality could resist so evident a conviction.

The public  
credit very  
high.

The House of Commons went on in creating funds for the supplies they had voted for the next year; and the nation was so well satisfied with the government, and the conduct of affairs, that a fund being created for 2,500,000*l.*, by way of annuities for ninety-nine years, at six and a half per cent. at the end of which the capital was to sink; the whole sum was subscribed in a very few days: at the same time the Duke of Marlborough proposed the advance of a sum of 500,000*l.* to the Emperor, for the use of Prince Eugene, and the service of Italy, upon a branch of the Emperor's revenue in Silesia, at eight per cent., and the capital to be repaid in eight years: the nation did so abound, both in money and zeal, that this was likewise advanced in a very few days: our armies, as well as our allies, were every where punctually paid: the credit of the nation was never raised so high in any age, nor so sacredly maintained: the Treasury was as exact and as regular in all payments as any private banker could be. It is true, a great deal of money went out of the kingdom in specie: that which maintained the war in Spain, was to be sent thither in that manner, the way by bills of exchange not being yet opened: our trade with Spain and the West Indies, which formerly brought us great returns of money, was now stopped: by this means there grew to be a sensible want of money over the nation: this was in a great measure supplied, by the currency of Exchequer bills and Bank notes: and this lay so obvious to the disaffected party, that they were often attempting to blast, at least to disparage this paper credit: but it was still kept up. It bred a just indignation in all who had a true love to their country, to see some using all possible methods to shake the administration, which, notwithstanding the difficulties at home and abroad, was much

the best that had been in the memory of man : and was certainly not only easy to the subjects in general, but gentle even towards those who were endeavouring to undermine it.

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The Lord Somers made a motion in the House of Lords to correct some of the proceedings in the common law, and in Chancery, that were both dilatory and very chargeable. He began the motion with some instances that were more conspicuous and gross; and he managed the matter so, that both the Lord Keeper and judges concurred with him; though it passes generally for a maxim, that judges ought rather to enlarge than contract their jurisdiction. A bill passed the House, that began a reformation of proceedings at law, which, as things now stand, are certainly among the greatest grievances of the nation: when this went through the House of Commons, it was visible that the interest of under-officers, clerks, and attorneys, whose gains were to be lessened by this bill, was more considered than the interest of the nation itself. Several clauses, how beneficial soever to the subject, which touched on their profit, were left out by the Commons: but what fault soever the Lords might have found with these alterations, yet, to avoid all disputes with the Commons, they agreed to their amendments.

A bill to regulate proceedings at law.

There was another general complaint made of the private acts of parliament, that passed through both houses too easily, and in so great a number, that it took up a great part of the session to examine them, even in that cursory way, that was subject to many inconveniences. The fees that were paid for these, to the speakers and clerks of both houses, inclined them to favour and promote them: so the Lord Somers proposed such a regulation in that matter, as will probably have a good effect for the future. The present Lord Keeper did indeed very generously obstruct those private bills, as much as his predecessor had promoted them. He did another thing of a great example; on the first day of the year, it was become a custom for all those who practised in Chancery, to offer a new-year's gift to the lord, who had the great seal: these grew to be so considerable, that they amounted to 1500*l.* a year. On this new-year's day, which was his first, he signified to all who, according to custom, were expected to come with their presents, that he would receive none, but would break

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that custom. He thought it looked like the insinuating themselves into the favour of the court; and that if it was not bribery, yet it came too near it, and looked too like it: this contributed not a little to the raising his character. He managed the court of Chancery with impartial justice and great dispatch; and was very useful to the House of Lords in the promoting of business.

Complaints  
of the pro-  
gress of  
popery.

When the session was near at an end, great complaints were made in both houses of the progress of popery in Lancashire, and of many insolencies committed there, both by the laity and priests of that religion: upon this a bill was brought into the House of Commons, with clauses that would have rendered the bill, passed against papists in the end of the last reign, effectual: this alarmed all of that religion: so that they made very powerful, or (to follow the raillery of that time) very weighty intercessions with the considerable men of that House. The court looked on, and seemed indifferent in the matter, yet it was given out that so severe a law would be very unreasonable, when we were in alliance with so many princes of that religion, and that it must lessen the force of the Queen's intercession in favour of the protestants, that lived in the dominions of those princes: the proceeding seemed rigorous, and not suited to the gentleness that the Christian religion did so particularly recommend, and was contrary to the maxims of liberty of conscience and toleration that were then in great vogue. It was answered, that the dependance of those of that religion on a foreign jurisdiction, and at present on a foreign pretender to the crown, put them out of the case of other subjects, who might differ from the established religion; since there seemed to be good reason to consider the papists as enemies, rather than as subjects: but the application was made in so effectual a manner, that the bill was let fall: and though the Lords had made some steps towards such a bill, yet, since they saw what fate it was like to have in the House of Commons, instead of proceeding farther in it, they dismissed that matter with an address to the Queen, that she would give orders, both to the justices of peace and to the clergy, that a return might be made to the next session of parliament, of all the papists in England.


There was another project set on foot at this time by the



Lord Hallifax, for putting the records and the public offices of the kingdom in better order. He had, in a former session, moved the Lords to send some of their number to view the records in the Tower, which were in great disorder, and in a visible decay for want of some more officers, and by the neglect of those we had. These lords, in their report, proposed some regulations for the future, which have been since followed so effectually, though at a considerable charge, by creating several new officers, that the nation will reap the benefit of all this very sensibly; but Lord Hallifax carried his project much further. The famous library collected by Sir Robert Cotton, and continued down in his family, was the greatest collection of manuscripts relating to the public, that perhaps any nation in Europe could shew. The late owner of it, Sir John Cotton, had, by his will, left it to the public, but in such words, that it was rather shut up than made any way useful: and indeed it was to be so carefully preserved, that none could be the better for it: so that Lord moved the House to entreat the Queen, that she would be pleased to buy Cotton House, which stood just between the two houses of parliament; so that some part of that ground would furnish them with many useful rooms, and there would be enough left for building a noble structure for a library: to which, besides the Cotton library, and the Queen's library, the Royal Society, who had a very good library at Gresham College, would remove and keep their assemblies there, as soon as it was made convenient for them. This was a great design, which the Lord Hallifax, who set it first on foot, seemed resolved to carry on till it was finished. It will set learning again on foot among us, and be a great honour to the Queen's reign.

Thus this session of parliament came to a very happy conclusion: there was in it the best harmony within both houses, and between them, as well as with the crown, and it was the best applauded in the city of London, over the whole nation, and indeed over all Europe, of any session that I had ever seen; and when it was considered that this was the first of the three, so that we were to have two other sessions of the same members, it gave an universal satisfaction, both to our own people at home, and our allies abroad, and afforded a prospect of a happy end, that

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A design for  
a public li-  
brary.



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should be put to this devouring war, which in all probability must come to a period before the conclusion of the present parliament. This gave an unspeakable satisfaction to all who loved their country and their religion, who now hoped that we had in view a good and a safe peace.


Proceedings  
in convoca-  
tion.

The convocation sat at the same time: it was chosen as the former had been, and the members that were ill affected were still prevailed on to come up, and to continue in an expensive but useless attendance in town. The bishops drew up an address to the Queen, in which, as the two houses of parliament had done, they expressed a just indignation at the jealousies that had been spread about the nation, of the danger of the church. When this was communicated to the lower house, they refused to join in it, but would give no reason for their refusal: they drew an address of their own, in which no notice was taken of these aspersions: the bishops, according to antient precedents, required them either to agree to their address, or to offer their objections against it: they would do neither; so the address was let fall: and, upon that, a stop was put to all further communication between the two houses. The lower house, upon this, went on in their former practice of intermediate sessions, in which they began to enter upon business, to approve of some books, and to censure others: and they resolved to proceed upon the same grounds that factious men among them had before set up, though the falsehood of their pretensions had been evidently made to appear. The Archbishop had prorogued them to the 1st of March: when that day came, the lower house was surprised with a protestation, that was brought to the upper house, by a great part of their body, who, being dissatisfied with the proceedings of the majority, and having long struggled against them, though in vain, at last drew up a protestation against them: they sent it up and down, through the whole province, that they might get as many hands to it as they could; but the matter was managed with such caution, that though it was in many hands, yet it was not known to the other side, till they heard it was presented to the president of the upper house: in it all the irregular motions of the lower house were reckoned up, insisting more particularly on that of holding intermediate sessions, against all which they protested, and prayed that

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their protestation might be entered in the books of the upper house, that so they might not be involved in the guilt of the rest: this was signed by above fifty, and the whole body was but an hundred and forty-five: some were neutral: so that hereby very near one half broke off from the rest, and left them, and sat no more with them. The lower house was deliberating how to vent their indignation against these, when a more sensible mortification followed: the Archbishop sent for them, and when they came up, he read a letter to them, that was wrote to him by the Queen, in which she took notice that the differences between the two houses were still kept up; she was much concerned to see that they were rather increased than abated: she was the more surprised at this, because it had been her constant care, as it should continue always to be, to preserve the constitution of the church, as it was by law established, and to discountenance all divisions and innovations whatsoever: she was resolved to maintain her supremacy, and the due subordination of presbyters to bishops, as fundamental parts of it: she expected, that the Archbishop and bishops would act conformable to this resolution, and in so doing they should be sure of the continuance of her protection and favour, which should not be wanting to any of the clergy, as long as they were true to the constitution, and dutiful to her, and their ecclesiastical superiors, and preserved such a temper as became those who were in holy orders. The Archbishop, as he was required to read this to them, so he was directed to prorogue them, for such a time as should appear convenient to him: they were struck with this; for it had been carried so secretly, that it was a surprise to them all. When they saw they were to be prorogued, they ran very indecently to the door, and with some difficulty were kept in the room till the prorogation was intimated to them: they went next to their own house, where, though prorogued, they sat still in form, as if they had been a house, but they did not venture on passing any vote. So factious were they, and so implicitly led by those who had got an ascendant over them, that though they had formerly submitted the matters in debate to the Queen, yet now, when she declared her pleasure, they would not acquiesce in it.

The session of parliament being now at an end, the pre-

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 Preparations for the campaign.

parations for the campaign were carried on with all possible dispatch: that which was most pressing was first done. Upon Stanhope's first coming over, in the beginning of January, orders were immediately issued out for sending over five thousand men, with all necessary stores, to Spain: the orders were given in very pressing terms; yet so many offices were concerned in the execution, that many delays were made; some of these were much censured: at last they sailed in March. The fleet that had gone into the Mediterranean with King Charles, and was to return and winter at Lisbon, was detained by westerly winds longer in those seas than had been expected.

A revolt in Valencia.

The people of Valencia seemed to hope, that they were to winter in those seas; and by this they were encouraged to declare for King Charles: but they were much exposed to those who commanded in King Philip's name. All Catalonia had submitted to King Charles, except Roses; garrisons were put in Gironne, Lerida, and Tortosa; and the states of that principality prepared themselves, with great zeal and resolution, for the next campaign, which, they had reason to expect, would come both early and severely upon them. There was a breach between the Earl of Peterborough and the Prince of Lichtenstein, whom he charged very heavily, in the King's own presence, with corruption and injustice: the matter went far, and the King blamed the Earl of Peterborough, who had not much of a forbearing or forgiving temper in him. There was no method of communication with England yet settled: we did not hear from them, nor they from us, in five months: this put them out of all hope: our men wanted every thing, and could be supplied there with nothing. The revolt in Valencia made it necessary to send such a supply to them from Barcelona as could be spared from thence. The disgust that was taken, made it advisable to send the Earl of Peterborough thither, and he willingly undertook the service: he marched towards that kingdom with about fifteen hundred English, and a thousand Spaniards: they were all ill equipped and ill furnished, without artillery, and with very little ammunition: but, as they marched, all the country either came into them or fled before them. He got to Valencia without any opposition, and was received there with all possible demonstrations of joy. This gave a great



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disturbance to the Spanish councils at Madrid: they advised the King to begin with the reduction of Valencia: it lay nearer, and was easier come at; and by this the disposition to revolt would be checked, which might otherwise go further: but this was overruled from France, where little regard was had to the Spaniards. They resolved to begin with Barcelona: in it King Charles himself lay; and on taking it they reckoned all the rest would fall.

The French resolved to send every thing that was necessary for the siege by sea; and the Count of Toulouse was ordered to lie with the fleet before the place, whilst it was besieged by land: it was concerted to begin the siege in March, for they knew that if they begun it so early, our fleet could not come in time to relieve it: but two great storms, that came soon one after another, did so scatter their tartanes, and disable their ships of war, that as some were cast away, and others were much shattered, so they all lost a month's time, and the siege could not be formed before the beginning of April. King Charles shut himself up in Barcelona, by which the people were both animated and kept in order: this gave all the allies very sad apprehensions; they feared not only the loss of the place, but of his person. Leak sailed from Lisbon in the end of March: he missed the galleons very narrowly, but he could not pursue them; for he was to lose no time, but haste to Barcelona: his fleet was increased to thirty ships of the line by the time he got to Gibraltar; but though twenty more were following him, he would not stay, but hastened on to the relief of the place as fast as the wind served.

The siege of  
Barcelona.

At the same time, the campaign was opened on the side of Portugal: the Earl of Gallway had full powers, and a brave army of about twenty thousand men, well furnished in all respects: he left Badajos behind him, and marched on to Alcantara. The Duke of Berwick had a very small force left him to defend that frontier: it seems the French trusted to the interest they had in the court of Portugal: his troops were so bad, that he saw in one small action, that he could not depend on them: he put a good garrison in Alcantara, where their best magazine was laid in. But when the Earl of Gallway came before the town, within three days, the garrison, consisting of four thousand men, delivered up the place and themselves as prisoners of

Alcantara  
taken.



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war : the Portuguese would have stopped there, and thought they had made a good campaign, though they had done no more ; but the English ambassador at Lisbon went to the King of Portugal, and pressed him, that orders might be immediately sent to the Earl of Gallway to march on ; and when he saw a great coolness in some of the ministers, he threatened a present rupture, if it was not done : and he continued waiting on the King, till the orders were signed, and sent away. Upon receipt of these, the Earl of Gallway advanced towards Placentia, all the country declaring for him as soon as he appeared ; and the Duke of Berwick still retiring before him, not being able to give the least interruption to his march.

The Germans are defeated in Italy.

The campaign was opened in Italy with great advantage to the French : the Duke of Vendome marched into the Brescian, to attack the imperialists, before Prince Eugene could join them, who was now come very near : he fell on a body of about twelve thousand of them, being double their number ; he drove them from their posts, with the loss of about three thousand men killed and taken ; but it was believed there were as many of the French killed as of the imperialists. Prince Eugene came up within two days, and put all in order again. He retired to a surer post, waiting till the troops from Germany should come up : the slowness of the Germans was always fatal, in the beginning of the campaign. The Duke of Savoy was now reduced to great extremities : he saw the siege of Turin was designed ; he fortified so many outposts, and put so good a garrison in it, that he prepared well for a long siege, and a great resistance ; he wrote to the Queen, for a further supply of 50,000*l*. assuring her, that by that means the place should be put in so good a state, that he would undertake that all should be done, which could be expected from brave and resolute men : and so careful was the Lord Treasurer to encourage him, that the courier was sent back the next day, after he came, with credit for the money. There was some hopes of a peace, as there was an actual cessation of war in Hungary : the malecontents had been put in hopes of a great diversion of the Emperor's forces, on the side of Bavaria, where there was a great insurrection, provoked, as was said, by the oppression of the imperial officers, who were so accustomed to be heavy in

their quarters, that when they had the pretence, that they were among enemies, it may be easily believed, there was much just occasion of complaint; and that they were guilty of great exactions and rapine. This looked formidably at first, and seemed to threaten a new war in those parts, but all was soon suppressed: the peasants had no officers among them, no discipline, nor magazines, and no place of strength: so they were quickly dispersed, and stricter orders were given, for the better regulating the military men, though it was not expected that these would be long observed.

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While matters were in this disposition abroad, the treaty for the union of the two kingdoms was brought on, and managed with great solemnity. Commissions were given out for thirty-two persons of each kingdom, to meet at London on the 18th of April; Somerset House was appointed for the place of the treaty: the persons who were named to treat on the English side, were well chosen; they were the most capable of managing the treaty, and the best disposed to it, of any in the kingdom. Those who came from Scotland, were not looked on as men so well affected to the design: most of them had stood out in a long and firm opposition to the Revolution, and to all that had been done afterwards, pursuant to it. The nomination of these was fixed on by the Dukes of Queensberry and Argyle: it was said by them, that though these objections did indeed lie against them, yet they had such an interest in Scotland, that the engaging them to be cordially for the union, would be a great means to get it agreed to in the parliament there: the Scotch had got among them the notion of a federal union, like that of the United Provinces, or of the cantons in Swisserland: but the English resolved to lose no time in the examining or discussing of that project, for this reason, besides many others, that as long as the two nations had two different parliaments, they could break that union whensoever they pleased; for each nation would follow their own parliament. The design was now to settle a lasting and indissoluble union between the kingdoms, therefore they resolved to treat only about an incorporating union, that should put an end to all distinctions, and unite all their interests: so they at last entered upon the scheme of an entire union.

The treaty  
for the  
union of the  
two king-  
doms.

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But now to look again into our affairs abroad. The French seemed to have laid the design of their campaign so well, that it had every where a formidable appearance: and if the execution had answered their scheme, it would have proved as glorious, as it was in the conclusion fatal to them. They reckoned the taking of Barcelona and Turin sure: and by these, they thought the war, both in Spain and Italy, would be soon brought to an end: they knew they would be superior to any force that the Prince of Baden could bring together, on the Upper Rhine; and they intended to have a great army in Flanders, where they knew our chief strength would be, to act as occasion or their other affairs should require. But how well soever this design might seem to be laid, it appeared Providence had another: which was brought to bear every where, in a most wonderful manner, and in a reverse to all their views. The steps of this, I intend to set out, rather as a meditation on the providence of God, than as a particular history of this signal year, for which I am no way furnished: beside that, if I were, it does not answer my principal design in writing.

The French lay thirty-seven days before Barcelona: of that time, twenty-two were spent in taking Mountjoy; they seemed to think there was no danger of raising the siege, and that therefore they might proceed as slowly as they pleased: the town was under such a consternation, that nothing but the King's presence could have kept them from capitulating the first week of the siege: there were some mutinies raised, and some of the magistrates were killed in them; but the King came among them on all occasions, and both quieted and animated them. Stanhope wrote, after the siege was over, (whether as a courtier or not, I cannot tell, for he had now the character of the Queen's envoy to King Charles,) that the King went into all places of danger, and made all about him examples to the rest, to be hard at work, and constant upon duty. After Mountjoy was taken, the town was more pressed: the Earl of Peterborough came from Valencia, and was upon the hills, but could not give them any great assistance: some few from Gironne, and other places, got into the town: the French engineers performed their part with little skill and success; those they relied most on, happened to be killed in the beginning of the siege. The Levant wind was all



this while so strong, that it was not possible for Leak to come up, so soon as was desired, to their relief.

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The siege of  
Barcelona  
raised.

But when their strength, as well as their patience, was almost quite exhausted, the wind turned, and Leak with all possible haste sailed to them: as soon as the Count of Toulouse had intelligence that he was near him, he sailed back to Toulon. Tesse, with King Philip, (who was in the camp, but was not once named in any action,) continued three days before Barcelona, after their fleet sailed away: they could then have no hopes of carrying it, unless a storm at sea had kept our fleet at a distance: at last, on the 1st of May, O. S. the siege was raised, with great precipitation, and in much disorder: their camp was left well furnished, and the sick and wounded could not be carried off.

An eclipse  
of the sun.

On the day of the raising the siege, as the French army was marching off, the sun was eclipsed, and it was total in those parts: it is certain that there is no weight to be laid on such things; yet the vulgar being apt to look on them as ominous, it was censured as a great error in Tesse, not to have raised the siege a day sooner; and that the rather, because the King of France had made the sun, with a motto of *Nec pluribus impar*, his device. King Philip made all the haste he could to Perpignan, but his army was almost quite ruined before he got thither: there was no manner of communication, over land, between Barcelona and Portugal: so the Portuguese, doubting the issue of that siege, had no mind to engage further, till they saw how it ended: therefore they ordered their army to march aside to Ciudad Roderigo, on pretence that it was necessary to secure their frontier, by taking that place: it was taken after a very short siege, and with small resistance: from thence they advanced to Salamanca. But upon the news of raising the siege of Barcelona, they went on towards Madrid; the Duke of Berwick only observing their motions, and still retiring before them. King Philip went, with great expedition, and a very small train, from Perpignan to Navarre; from thence he came post to Madrid: but finding he had no army that he could trust to, the grandees being now retired, and looking as so many dead men; and he seeing that the Portuguese were still advancing, sent his Queen to Burgos, and followed her in a few days, carrying with him that which was valuable in the palace: and it

The Earl of  
Gallway  
advanced

King Phi-  
lip came to  
Madrid, and  
soon left it.



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The Earl of  
Gallway  
came to it,  
but King  
Charles de-  
layed too  
long to come  
thither.

seems he despaired ever to return thither again, since he destroyed all that could not be carried away; in which he acted a very extraordinary part, for he did some of this with his own hand; as the gentleman, whom the Earl of Gallway sent over, told me was universally believed in Madrid.

The capital city being thus forsaken, the Earl of Gallway came to it by the end of June; he met with no resistance indeed, but with as little welcome: an army of Portuguese, with a heretic at their head, were certainly very strange sights to the Castilians, who retained all the pride, without any of the courage, of their ancestors: they thought it below them to make their submissions to any, but to the King himself; and if King Charles had come thither immediately, it was believed that the entire reduction of Spain would have been soon brought about. It is not yet certain what made him stay so long as he did at Barcelona, even from the beginning of May till near the end of July. Those about him pretended, it was not fit to go to Madrid, till he was well furnished with money to make a decent entry: Stanhope offered to furnish him with what was necessary for the journey, but could not afford a magnificent equipage for a solemn entry. King Charles wrote a very pressing letter to the Duke of Marlborough, setting forth his necessities, and desiring greater supplies; I saw this letter, for the Duke sent it over to the Lord Treasurer: but little regard was had to it, because it was suggested from many different hands, that the Prince of Lichtenstein was enriching himself, and keeping his King poor. Others pretended the true cause of the delay was a secret amour of that King's at Barcelona; whatsoever the cause of it might be, the effects have hitherto proved fatal: it was first proposed, that King Charles should march through Valencia, as the nearest and much the safest way, and he came on that design as far as Tarracona: but advice being brought him there, that the kingdom of Arragon was in a good disposition to declare for him, he was diverted from his first intentions, and prevailed on to go to Saragossa; where he was acknowledged by that kingdom: but he lost much time, and more in the reputation of his arms, by delaying so long to move towards Madrid: so King Philip took heart, and came back from Burgos to Madrid. The Earl of Gallway was very uneasy at this

slow motion which King Charles made: King Philip had some more troops sent him from France, and the broken bodies of his army being now brought together, he had an army equal in numbers to the Earl of Gallway, and so he marched up to him: but since so much depended on the issue of an action, the Earl of Gallway avoided it, because he expected every day reinforcements to be brought up to him, both by King Charles, and by the Earl of Peterborough from Valencia: therefore, to facilitate this conjunction, he moved towards Arragon; so that Madrid was again left to be possessed by King Philip. At last, in the beginning of August, King Charles came up, but with a very inconsiderable force: a few days after, the Earl of Peterborough came also with an escort, rather than any strength; for he had not with him above five hundred dragoons. He was now uneasy, because he could not have the supreme command, both the Earl of Gallway and Count Noyelles being much antienter officers than he was. But, to deliver him from the uneasiness of being commanded by them, the Queen had sent him the powers of an ambassador extraordinary; and he took that character on him for a few days. His complaining so much as he did of the Prince of Lichtenstein and the Germans, who were still possessed of King Charles's confidence, made him very unacceptable to that King: so he, waiting for orders from the Queen, withdrew from the camp, and sailed away in one of the Queen's ships to Genoa. Our fleet lay all the summer in the Mediterranean; which obliged the French to keep theirs within Toulon. Carthagenæ declared for King Charles, and was secured by some of our ships: the fleet came before Alicant: the seamen landed and stormed the town; the castle held out some weeks, but then it capitulated, and the soldiers by articles were obliged to march to Cadiz. Soon after that, our fleet sailed out of the Straits; one squadron was sent to the West Indies, another was to lie at Lisbon, and the rest were ordered home. After King Charles had joined Lord Gallway, King Philip's army and his looked on one another for some time, but without venturing on any action: they were near an equality, and both sides expected to be reinforced; so in that uncertainty, neither side would put any thing to hazard.

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The battle  
of Ramil-  
lies.

But now I turn to another and a greater scene: the King of France was assured, that the King of Denmark would stand upon some high demands, he made to the allies, so that the Duke of Marlborough could not have the Danes, who were about ten or twelve thousand, to join him for some time; and that the Prussians, almost as many as the Danes, could not come up to the confederate army for some weeks: so he ordered the Elector of Bavaria and Villeroy to march up to them, and to venture on a battle; since, without the Danes, they would have been much superior in number. The states yielded to all Denmark's demands, and the Prince of Wirtemberg, who commanded their troops, being very well affected, reckoned that all being granted, he needed not stay till he sent to Denmark, nor wait for their express orders; but marched and joined the army the day before the engagement. Some thought, that the King of France, upon the news of the disgrace before Barcelona, that he might cover that, resolved to put all to venture, hoping that a victory would have set all to rights: this passed generally in the world. But the Duke of Marlborough told me, that there being only twelve days between the raising of the siege of Barcelona and this battle, the one being on the 1st of May, and the other on the 12th, eight of which must be allowed for the courier to Paris, and from thence to Brabant, it seemed not possible to put things in the order in which he saw them in so short a time. The French left their baggage and heavy cannon at Judoign, and marched up to the Duke of Marlborough: he was marching towards them, on the same design; for if they had not offered him battle on the 12th, he was resolved to have attacked them on the 13th of May: they met near a village called Ramillies (not far from the Mehaigne), from whence the battle takes its name.

A great vic-  
tory gained.

The engagement was an entire one, and the action was hot for two hours: both the French mousquetaires and the cuirassiers were there: the Elector of Bavaria said, it was the best army he ever beheld: but, after two hours, the French gave way every where, so it ended in an entire defeat. They lost both their camp, baggage, and artillery, as well as all that they had left in Judoign; and in all possible confusion they passed the Dyle; our men pursuing, till it was dark. The Duke of Marlborough said to me, the



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French army looked the best of any he had ever seen: but that their officers did not do their part, nor shew the courage that had appeared among them on other occasions. And when I asked him the difference between the actions at Hocksted and at Ramillies; he said, the first battle lasted between seven and eight hours, and we lost above twelve thousand men in it; whereas the second lasted not above two hours, and we lost not above two thousand five hundred men. Orders were presently sent to the great cities to draw the garrisons out of them, that so the French might have again the face of an army: for their killed, their deserters, and their prisoners, on this great day, were about twenty thousand men. The Duke of Marlborough lost no time, but followed them close: Louvain, Mechlin, and Brussels submitted, besides many lesser places: Antwerp made a shew of standing out, but soon followed the example of the rest: Ghent and Bruges did the same: in all these King Charles was proclaimed. Upon this unexpected rapidity of success, the Duke of Marlborough went to the Hague to concert measures with the states, where he staid but few days; for they agreed to every thing he proposed, and sent him back with full powers. The first thing he undertook was the siege of Ostend, a place famous for its long siege in the last age: the natives of the place were disposed to return to the Austrian family, and the French, that were in it, had so lost all heart and spirit, that they made not the resistance that was looked for: in ten days after they sat down before it, and within four days after the batteries were finished, they capitulated. From thence the confederates went to Menin, which was esteemed the best finished fortification in all those parts: it was built after the peace of Nimeguen; nothing that art could contrive was wanting to render it impregnable; and it was defended by a garrison of six thousand men, so that many thought it was too bold an undertaking to sit down before it. The French army was become considerable, by great detachments brought from the Upper Rhine, where Marshal Villars was so far superior to the Germans, that, if it had not been for this revulsion of his forces, the circles of Suabia and Franconia would have been much exposed to pillage and contribution.

Flanders  
and Brabant  
reduced.

Ostend and  
Menin taken.

The Duke of Vendome's conduct in Italy had so raised



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The Duke  
of Vendome  
commanded  
in Flanders.

his character, that he was thought the only man fit to be at the head of the army in Flanders: so he was sent for, and had that command given him, with a very high compliment, which was very injurious to the other officers, since he was declared to be the single man on whom France could depend, and by whom it could be protected in that extremity. The Duke of Orleans was sent to command in Italy, and Marshal Marsin was sent with him to assist, or rather in reality to govern him; and so obstinately was the King of France set on pursuing his first designs, that notwithstanding his disgraces, both in Spain and in the Netherlands, yet (since he had ordered all the preparations for the siege of Turin) he would not desist from that attempt, but ordered it to be pursued with all possible vigour. The siege of Menin was, in the meanwhile, carried on so successfully, that the trenches were opened on the 24th of July, and the batteries were finished on the 29th; and they pressed the place so warmly, that they capitulated on the 11th of August, and marched out on the 14th, being St. Lewis's day: four thousand men marched out of the place.

Dender-  
monde and  
Aeth taken.

It seemed strange, that a garrison, which was still so numerous, should give up, in so short a time, a place that was both so strong and so well furnished: but as the French were much sunk, so the allies were now become very expert at carrying on of sieges; and spared no cost that was necessary for dispatch. Dendermonde had been for some weeks under a blockade: this the Duke of Marlborough ordered to be turned into a formal siege. The place was so surrounded with water, that the King of France having once begun a siege there, was forced to raise it; yet it was now so pressed, that the garrison offered to capitulate, but the Duke of Marlborough would give them no other terms but those of being prisoners of war, to which they were forced to submit. Aeth was next invested; it lay so inconveniently between Flanders and Brabant, that it was necessary to clear that communication, and to deliver Brussels from the danger of that neighbourhood: in a fortnight's time it was also obliged to capitulate, and the garrison were made prisoners of war.

During those sieges, the Duke of Vendome having fixed himself in a camp that could not be forced, did not think fit to give the Duke of Marlborough any disturbance, while

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he lay with his army covering the sieges: the French were jealous of the Elector of Bavaria's heat, and though he desired to command an army apart, yet it was not thought fit to divide the forces, though now grown to be very numerous. Deserters said the panic was still so great in the army, that there was no appearance of their venturing on any action: Paris itself was under a high consternation; and though the King carried his misfortunes with an appearance of calmness and composure, yet he was often let blood, which was thought an indication of a great commotion within; and this was no doubt the greater, because it was so much disguised. No news was talked of at that court; all was silent and solemn; so that even the Dutchess Dowager of Orleans knew not the true state of their affairs, which made her write to her aunt, the Electoress of Hanover, to learn news of her.

There was another alarm given them, which heightened the disorder they were in: the Queen and the states formed a design of a descent in France, with an army of about ten thousand foot, and twelve hundred horse. The Earl of Rivers commanded the land army, as Shovel did a royal fleet, that was to convoy them, and to secure their landing; it was to be near Bourdeaux: but the secret was then so well kept, that the French could not penetrate into it; so the alarm was general. It put all the maritime counties of France to a vast charge, and under dismal apprehensions: officers were sent from the court to exercise them; but they saw what their militia was, and that was all their defence. I have one of the manifesto's that the Earl of Rivers was ordered to publish upon his landing: he declared by it, that he was come neither to pillage the country, nor to conquer any part of it; he came only to restore the people to their liberties, and to have assemblies of the states, as they had antiently, and to restore the edicts to the protestants; he promised protection to all that should come in to him. The troops were all put aboard at Portsmouth, in the beginning of July, but they were kept in our ports, by contrary winds, till the beginning of October: the design on France was then laid aside; it was too late in the year for the fleet to sail into the Bay of Biscay, and to lie there, for any considerable time, in that season: the reduction of Spain was of the greatest importance to us; so new orders

Designs for  
a descent in  
France.

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were sent them to sail first to Lisbon, and there to take such measures as the state of the affairs of Spain should require.

The siege of  
Turin.

The siege of Turin was begun in May, and was continued till the beginning of September: there was a strong garrison within it, and it was well furnished, both with provisions and ammunition. The Duke of Savoy put all to the hazard: he sent his Dutchess with his children to Genoa; and himself, with a body of three thousand horse was moving about Turin, from valley to valley, till that body was much diminished; for he was, as it were, hunted from place to place by the Duke of Feuillade, who commanded in the siege, and drove the Duke of Savoy before him; so that all hope of relief lay in Prince Eugene. The garrison made a noble resistance, and maintained their outworks long; they blew up many mines, and disputed every inch of ground with great resolution: they lost about six thousand men, who were either killed, or had deserted during the siege; and their powder was at last so spent, that they must have capitulated within a day or two, if they had not been relieved. The siege cost the French very dear; they were often forced to change their attacks, and lost about fourteen thousand men before the place, for they were frequently beat from the posts that they had gained.

Prince  
Eugene  
marches to,  
raise it.

Prince Eugene made all the haste he could to their relief. The court of Vienna had not given due orders, as they had undertaken, for the provision of the troops that were to march through their country to join him: this occasioned many complaints, and some delay. The truth was, that court was so much set on the reduction of Hungary, that all other things were much neglected, while that alone seemed to possess them. A treaty was set on foot with the malecontents there, by the mediation of England and of the states; a cessation of arms was agreed to for two months. All that belonged to that court were very uneasy while that continued; they had shared among them the confiscations of all the great estates in Hungary, and they saw, that if a peace was made, all these would be vacated, and the estates would be restored to their former owners: so they took all possible means to traverse the negotiation and to inflame the Emperor. There seemed to be some probability of bringing things to a settlement, but



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that could not be brought to any conclusion during the term of the cessation; when that was laps'd, the Emperor could not be prevail'd on to renew it: he recalled his troops from the Upper Rhine, though that was contrary to all his agreements with the empire. Notwithstanding all this ill management of the court of Vienna, Prince Eugene got together the greatest part of those troops that he expected in the Veronese before the end of June: they were not yet all come up, but he, believing himself strong enough, resolv'd to advance; and he left the Prince of Hesse with a body to receive the rest, and by them to force a diversion while he should be going on. The Duke of Vendome had taken care of all the fords of the Adige, the Mincio, and the Oglio; and had cast up such lines and entrenchments every where, that he had assured the court of France it was not possible for Prince Eugene to break through all that opposition, at least to do it in any time to relieve Turin. By this time the Duke of Orleans was come to take the army out of Vendome's hands; but before that Duke had left it, they saw that he had reckon'd wrong in all those hopes he had given the court of France of stopping Prince Eugene's march. For, in the beginning of July, he sent a few battalions over one of the fords of the Adige, where the French were well posted, and double their number; yet they ran away with such precipitation, that they left every thing behind them: upon that, Prince Eugene passed the Adige with his whole army, and the French, in a consternation, retir'd behind the Mincio. After this, Prince Eugene surpris'd the French with a motion that they had not look'd for nor prepar'd against, for he pass'd the Po; the Duke of Orleans follow'd him, but declin'd an engagement; whereupon Prince Eugene wrote to the Duke of Marlborough that he felt the effects of the battle of Ramillies even in Italy, the French seeming to be every where dispirited with their misfortunes. Prince Eugene, marching nearer the Appenines, had gain'd some days' march of the Duke of Orleans; upon which that Duke repass'd the Po, and advanced with such haste towards Turin, that he took no care of the pass at Stradella, which might have been kept and disputed for some days: Prince Eugene found no opposition there; nor did he meet with any other difficulty, but from the length of the march, and the heat



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of the season ; for he was in motion all the months of July and August.

In the beginning of September, the Duke of Savoy joined him, with the small remnants of his army, and they hasted on to Turin. The Duke of Orleans had got thither before them, and the place was now reduced to the last extremities : the Duke of Orleans, with most of the chief officers, were for marching out of the trenches ; Marsin was of another mind, and when he found it hard to maintain his opinion, he produced positive orders for it, which put an end to the debate. The Duke of Savoy saw the necessity of attacking them in their trenches ; his army consisted of twenty-eight thousand men, but they were good troops ; the French were above forty thousand, and in a well fortified camp ; yet, after two hours' resistance, the Duke of Savoy broke through, and then there was a great destruction ; the French flying in much disorder, and leaving a vast treasure in their camp, besides great stores of provisions, ammu-

The French  
army routed,  
and the  
siege raised.

nition, and artillery. It was so entire a defeat, that not above sixteen hundred men of that great army got off in a body ; and they made all the haste they could into Dauphiny. The Duke of Savoy went into Turin, where it may be easily imagined he was received with much joy ; the garrison, for want of powder, was not in a condition to make a sally on the French while he attacked them ; the French were pursued as far as men wearied with such an action could follow them, and many prisoners were taken. The Duke of Orleans, though he lost the day, yet gave great demonstrations of courage, and received several wounds : Marshal Marsin fell into the enemies' hands, but died of his wounds in a few hours ; and upon him all the errors of this dismal day were cast, though the heaviest part of the load fell on Chamillard, who was then in the supreme degree of favour at court, and was entirely possessed of Madame Maintenon's confidence. Feuillade had married his daughter, and, in order to the advancing him, he had the command of this siege given him, which was thus obstinately pursued till it ended in this fatal manner. The obstinacy continued, for the King sent orders, for a month together, to the Duke of Orleans to march back into Piedmont, when it was absolutely impossible ; yet repeated orders were sent, and the reason of this was understood af-

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terwards: Madame Maintenon, it seems, took that care of the King's health and humour, that she did not suffer the ill state of his affairs to be fully told to him; he, all that while, was made believe that the siege was only raised upon the advance of Prince Eugene's army, and knew not that his own was defeated and ruined. I am not enough versed in military affairs to offer any judgment upon that point, whether they did well or ill not to go out of their camp to fight: it is certain that the fight was more disorderly, and the loss was much greater, by reason of their lying within their lines: in this I have known men of the trade of different opinions.

While this was done at Turin, the Prince of Hesse advanced to the Mincio, which the French abandoned; but as he went to take Castiglione, Medavi, the French general, surprised him, and cut off about two thousand of his men; upon which he was forced to retire to the Adige. The French magnified this excessively, hoping with the noise they made about it to balance their real loss at Turin. The Prince of Vaudemont, upon the news from Turin, left the city of Milan, and retired with the small force he had to Cremona: the Duke of Savoy and Prince Eugene marched with all haste into the Milanese: the city of Milan was opened to them; but the citadel and some strong places, that had garrisons in them, stood out some time; yet place after place capitulated, so that it was visible all would quickly fall into their hands.

Such a succession of eminent misfortunes, in one campaign, and in so many different places, was without example: it made all people conclude, that the time was come, in which the perfidy, the tyranny, and the cruelty of that King's long and bloody reign, was now to be repaid him, with the same severe measure, with which he had formerly treated others: but the secrets of God are not to be too boldly pried into, till he is pleased to display them to us more openly. It is certainly a year that deserves to be long and much remembered.

In the end of the campaign, in which Poland had been harassed with the continuance of the war, but without any great action; the King of Sweden, seeing that King Augustus supported his affairs in Poland, by the supplies both of men and money that he drew from his electorate, resolved

The King of Sweden marched into Saxony.

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to stop that resource: so he marched through Silesia and Lusatia into Saxony. He quickly made himself master of an open country, that was looking for no such invasion, and was in no sort prepared for it, and had few strong places in it capable of any resistance: the rich town of Leipsic and all the rest of the country was, without any opposition, put under contribution. All the empire was alarmed at this; it was at first apprehended, that it was set on by the French councils, to raise a new war in Germany, and to put the north all in a flame. The King of Sweden gave it out, that he had no design to give any disturbance to the empire: that he intended, by this march, only to bring the war of Poland to a speedy conclusion; and it was reasonable to believe, that such an unlooked-for incident would soon bring that war to a crisis.

A treaty of  
union con-  
cluded.

This was the state of our affairs abroad, in this glorious and ever-memorable year. At home, another matter of great consequence was put in a good and promising method: the commissioners of both kingdoms sat close in a treaty till about the middle of July; in conclusion, they prepared a complete scheme of an entire union of both nations: some particulars being only referred, to be settled by their parliaments respectively. When every thing was agreed to, they presented one copy of the treaty to the Queen, and each side had a copy, to be presented to their respective parliament, all the three copies being signed by the commissioners of both kingdoms: it was resolved to lay the matter first before the parliament of Scotland, because it was apprehended, that it would meet with the greatest opposition there.

The articles  
of the union.

The union of the two kingdoms was a work of which many had quite despaired, in which number I was one; and those who entertained better hopes, thought it must have run out into a long negotiation for several years: but, beyond all men's expectation, it was begun and finished within the compass of one. The commissioners brought up from Scotland for the treaty, were so strangely chosen (the far greater number having continued in an opposition to the government, ever since the Revolution), that from thence many concluded, that it was not sincerely designed by the ministry, when they saw such a nomination. This was a piece of the Earl of Stair's cunning, who did heartily



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promote the design: he then thought, that if such a number of those who were looked on as jacobites, and were popular men on that account, among the disaffected there, could be so wrought on, as to be engaged in the affair, the work would be much the easier, when laid before the parliament of Scotland; and in this, the event shewed that he took right measures. The Lord Somers had the chief hand in projecting the scheme of the union, into which all the commissioners of the English nation went very easily: the advantages that were offered to Scotland, in the whole frame of it, were so great and so visible, that nothing but the consideration of the safety that was to be procured by it to England, could have brought the English to agree to a project, that, in every branch of it, was much more favourable to the Scotch nation.

They were to bear less than the fortieth part of the public taxes: when 4s. in the pound was levied in England, which amounted to 2,000,000*l.*, Scotland was only to be taxed at 48,000*l.* which was eight months' assessment: they had been accustomed for some years to pay this, and they said it was all that the nation could bear. It is held a maxim, that in the framing of a government, a proportion ought to be observed, between the share in the legislature and the burden to be borne; yet, in return of the fortieth part of the burden, they offered the Scotch near the eleventh part of the legislature: for the peers of Scotland were to be represented by sixteen peers in the House of Lords, and the commons by forty-five members in the House of Commons; and these were to be chosen, according to the methods to be settled in the parliament of Scotland: and since Scotland was to pay customs and excises on the same foot with England, and was to bear a share in paying much of the debt England had contracted during the war, 398,000*l.* was to be raised in England and sent into Scotland as an equivalent for that; and that was to be applied to the recoinage of the money, that all might be of one denomination and standard, and to paying the public debts of Scotland, and repaying to their African Company all their losses with interest; upon which that company was to be dissolved; and the overplus of the equivalent was to be applied to the encouragement of manufactures. Trade was to be free all over the island, and to the plantations; private rights were to be preserved; and the judi-



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catories, and laws of Scotland, were still to be continued: but all was put, for the future, under the regulation of the of the parliament of Great Britain; the two nations now were to be one kingdom, under the same succession to the crown, and united in one parliament. There was no provision made in this treaty with relation to religion; for in the acts of parliament, in both kingdoms, that empowered the Queen to name commissioners, there was an express limitation that they should not treat of those matters.

Debated  
long in the  
parliament  
of Scotland.

This was the substance of the articles of the treaty, which being laid before the parliament of Scotland, met with great opposition there. It was visible, that the nobility of that kingdom suffered a great diminution by it: for though it was agreed that they should enjoy all the other privileges of the peers of England, yet the greatest of them all, which was the voting in the House of Lords, was restrained to sixteen, to be elected by the rest at every new parliament; yet there was a greater majority of the nobility that concurred in voting for the union, than in the other states of that kingdom. The commissioners from the shires and boroughs were almost equally divided, though it was evident they were to be the chief gainers by it; among these the union was agreed to by a very small majority. It was the nobility that, in every vote, turned the scale for the union: they were severely reflected on by those who opposed it: it was said many of them were bought off to sell their country and their birthright. All those who adhered inflexibly to the jacobite interest, opposed every step that was made with great vehemence; for they saw that the union struck at the root of all their views and designs for a new revolution: yet these could not have raised or maintained so great an opposition as was now made, if the presbyterians had not been possessed with a jealousy, that the consequence of this union would be the change of church-government among them, and that they would be swallowed up by the church of England. This took such root in many, that no assurances, that were offered, could remove their fears. It was infused in them chiefly by the old Dutchess of Hamilton, who had great credit with them: and it was suggested, that she, and her son, had particular views, as hoping, that if Scotland should continue a separated kingdom, the crown might come into their family,

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they being the next in blood, after King James's posterity. The infusion of such apprehensions had a great effect on the main body of that party, who could scarce be brought to hearken to, but never to accept of, the offers that were made for securing their presbyterian government. A great part of the gentry of that kingdom, who had been oft in England, and had observed the protection that all men had from a House of Commons, and the security that it procured against partial judges and a violent ministry, entered into the design with great zeal. The opening a free trade, not only with England, but with the plantations, and the protection of the fleet of England, drew in those who understood these matters, and saw there was no other way in view to make the nation rich and considerable. Those who had engaged far into the design of Darien, and were great losers by it, saw now an honourable way to be reimbursed, which made them wish well to the union, and promote it : but that which advanced the design most effectually, and without which it could not have succeeded, was, that a considerable number of noblemen and gentlemen, who were in no engagements with the court (on the contrary, they had been disobliged and turned out of great posts, and some very lately) declared for it: these kept themselves very close and united, and seemed to have no other interest but that of their country, and were for that reason called the squadron. The chief of these were the Marquis of Tweeddale, the Earls of Rothes, Roxburgh, Hadington, and Marchmont; they were in great credit, because they had no visible bias on their minds; ill usage had provoked them rather to oppose the ministry, than to concur in any thing where the chief honour would be carried away by others. When they were spoke to by the ministry, they answered coldly, and with great reserves; so it was expected they would have concurred in the opposition, and they being between twenty and thirty in number, if they had set themselves against the union, the design must have miscarried: but they continued still silent, till the first division of the House obliged them to declare, and then they not only joined in it, but promoted it effectually, and with zeal. There were great and long debates, managed on the side of the union, by the Earls of Seafield and Stair for the ministry, and for the squadron by the Earls of Roxburgh and

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Marchmont; and against it by the Dukes of Hamilton and Athol, and the Marquis of Annandale. The Duke of Athol was believed to be in a foreign correspondence, and was much set on violent methods. Duke Hamilton managed the debate with great vehemence, but was against all desperate motions. He had much to lose, and was resolved not to venture all with those who suggested the necessity of running, in the old Scotch way, to extremities. The topics from which the arguments against the union were drawn, were the antiquity and dignity of their kingdom, which was offered to be given up and sold: they were departing from an independent state, and going to sink into a dependence on England; what conditions soever might be now speciously offered, as a security to them, they could not expect that they should be adhered to, or religiously maintained in a parliament, where sixteen peers and forty-five commoners, could not hold the balance, against above an hundred peers and five hundred and thirteen commoners. Scotland would be no more considered as formerly by foreign princes and states. Their peers would be precarious and elective: they magnified their crown, with the other regalia so much, that since the nation seemed resolved never to suffer them to be carried away, it was provided, in a new clause added to the articles, that these should still remain within the kingdom. They insisted most vehemently on the danger that the constitution of their church must be in, when all should be under the power of a British parliament: this was pressed with fury by some, who were known to be the most violent enemies to presbytery of any in that nation: but it was done on design to inflame that body of men by those apprehensions, and so to engage them to persist in their opposition. To allay that heat, after the general vote was carried for the union, before they entered on the consideration of the particular articles, an act was prepared for securing the presbyterian government; by which it was declared to be the only government of that church, unalterable in all succeeding times, and the maintaining it was declared to be a fundamental and essential article and condition of the union; and this act was to be made a part of the act for the union, which, in the consequence of that, was to be ratified by another act of parliament in England: thus those, who were the greatest



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enemies to presbytery of any in the nation, raised the clamour of the danger that form of government would be in, if the union went on to such a height, that by their means this act was carried, as far as any human law could go, for their security: for by this, they had not only all the security that their own parliament could give them, but they were to have the faith and authority of the parliament of England, it being, in the stipulation, made an essential condition of the union. The carrying this matter so far, was done in hopes that the parliament of England would never be brought to pass it. This act was passed, and it gave an entire satisfaction to those who were disposed to receive any; but nothing could satisfy men who made use of this only to inflame others. Those who opposed the union, finding the majority was against them, studied to raise a storm without doors, to frighten them. A set of addresses against the union were sent round all the counties, in which those who opposed it had any interest. There came up many of these in the name of counties and boroughs, and at last from parishes: this made some noise abroad, but was very little considered there, when it was known by whose arts and practices they were procured. When this appeared to have little effect, pains were taken to animate the rabble to violent attempts, both at Edinburgh and at Glasgow. Sir Patrick Johnston, lord provost of Edinburgh, had been one of the commissioners, and had concurred heartily in the design: a great multitude gathered about his house, and were forcing the doors on design, as was believed, to murder him; but guards came and dispersed them. Upon this attempt, the privy-council set out a proclamation against all such riots, and gave orders for quartering the guards within the town: but to shew that this was not intended to overawe the parliament, the whole matter was laid before them, and the proceedings of the privy-council were approved. No other violent attempt was made after this, but the body of the people shewed so much sullenness, that probably had any person of authority once kindled the fire, they seemed to be of such combustible matter, that the union might have cast that nation into great convulsions. These things made great impressions on the Duke of Queensberry, and on some about him: he despaired of succeeding, and he apprehended his per-



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son might be in danger. One about him wrote to my Lord Treasurer, representing the ill temper the nation was generally in, and moved for an adjournment, that so with the help of some time, and good management, those difficulties, which seemed then insuperable, might be conquered. The Lord Treasurer told me his answer was, that a delay was, upon the matter, laying the whole design aside; orders were given, both in England and Ireland, to have troops ready upon call; and if it was necessary, more forces should be ordered from Flanders. The French were in no condition to send any assistance to those who might break out, so that the circumstances of the time were favourable; he desired, therefore, that they would go on, and not be alarmed at the foolish behaviour of some, who, whatever might be given out in their names, he believed, had more wit than to ruin themselves. Every step that was made, and every vote that was carried, was with the same strength, and met with the same opposition: both parties giving strict attendance during the whole session, which lasted for three months. Many protestations were printed, with every man's vote. In conclusion, the whole articles of the treaty were agreed to with some small variations. The Earl of Stair, having maintained the debate on the last day, in which all was concluded, died the next night suddenly, his spirits being quite exhausted by the length and vehemence of the debate. The act passed, and was sent up to London in the beginning of February.

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At last  
agreed to.

The Queen laid it before the two houses; the House of Commons agreed to it all, without any opposition, so soon, that it was thought they interposed not delay and consideration enough, suitable to the importance of so great a transaction. The debates were longer and more solemn in the House of Lords: the Archbishop of Canterbury moved, that a bill might be brought in for securing the church of England: by it, all acts passed in favour of our church, were declared to be in full force for ever; and this was made a fundamental and essential part of the union. Some exceptions were taken to the words of the bill, as not so strong as the act passed in Scotland seemed to be, since the government of it was not declared to be unalterable: but they were judged more proper, since, where a supreme legislature is once acknowledged, nothing can be unalterable. After this was over, the Lords entered upon the con-

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sideration of the articles, as they were amended in Scotland: it was pretended, that here a new constitution was made, the consequence of which, they said, was the altering all the laws of England. All the judges were of opinion, that there was no weight in this: great exceptions were taken to the small proportion Scotland was rated at, in the laying on of taxes; and their election of peers, to every new parliament, was said to be contrary to the nature of peerage. To all the objections that were offered, this general answer was made, that so great a thing as the uniting the whole island into one government, could not be compassed, but with some inconveniences: but if the advantage of safety and union was greater than those inconveniences, then a lesser evil must be submitted to. An elective peer was indeed a great prejudice to the peers of Scotland; but since they had submitted to it, there was no just occasion given to the peers of England to complain of it. But the debate held longest upon the matters relating to the government of the church: it was said, here was a real danger the church ran into, when so many votes of persons tied to presbytery, were admitted to a share in the legislature. All the rigour with which the episcopal clergy had been treated in Scotland, was set forth, to shew with how implacable a temper they were set against the church of England: yet, in return to all that, it was now demanded, from the men of this church, to enact, that the Scotch form should continue unalterable, and to admit those to vote among us, who were such declared enemies to our constitution. Here was a plausible subject for popular eloquence, and a great deal of it was brought out upon this occasion, by Hooper, Beveridge, and some other bishops, and by the Earls of Rochester and Nottingham. But to all this it was answered, that the chief dangers the church was in, were from France and from popery: so that whatsoever secured us from these, delivered us from our justest fears. Scotland lay on the weakest side of England, where it could not be defended but by an army: the collieries on the Tyne lay exposed for several miles, and could not be preserved, but at a great charge, and with a great force. If a war should fall out between the two nations, and if Scotland should be conquered, yet, even in that case, it must be united to England, or kept under by

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an army. The danger of keeping up a standing force, in the hands of any prince, and to be modelled by him (who might engage the Scotch to join with that army and turn upon England), was visible: and any union, after such a conquest, would look like a force, and so could not be lasting; whereas all was now voluntary. As for church matters, there had been such violence used by all sides, in their turns, that none of them could reproach the others much, without having it returned upon them too justly. A softer management would lay those heats, and bring men to a better temper. The cantons of Swisserland, though very zealous in their different religions, yet were united in one general body: the diet of Germany was composed of men of three different religions: so that several constitutions of churches might be put under one legislature; and if there was a danger of either side, it was much more likely that five hundred and thirteen would be too hard for forty-five, than that forty-five would master five hundred and thirteen; especially when the crown was on their side: and there were twenty-six bishops in the House of Lords, to outweigh the sixteen votes from Scotland. It was indeed said, that all in England were not zealous for the church; to which it was answered, that by the same reason it might be concluded, that all those of Scotland were not zealous for their way, especially when the favour of the court lay in the English scale. The matter was argued, for the union, by the Bishops of Oxford, Norwich, and myself, by the Lord Treasurer, the Earls of Sunderland and Wharton, and the Lords Townshend and Hallifax; but above all, by the Lord Somers. Every division of the House was made with so great an inequality, that they were but twenty against fifty that were for the union. When all was agreed to, in both houses, a bill was ordered to be brought in to enact it; which was prepared by Harcourt with so particular a contrivance, that it cut off all debates. The preamble was a recital of the articles, as they were passed in Scotland, together with the acts made in both parliaments, for the security of their several churches; and in conclusion, there came one enacting clause, ratifying all. This put those upon great difficulties, who had resolved to object to several articles, and to insist on demanding some alterations in them; for they could not come at any de-



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bate about them; they could not object to the recital, it being merely matter of fact; and they had not strength enough to oppose the general enacting clause, nor was it easy to come at particulars, and to offer provisos relating to them. The matter was carried on with such zeal, that it passed through the House of Commons, before those, who intended to oppose it, had recovered themselves out of the surprise, under which the form it was drawn in had put them. It did not stick long in the House of Lords, for all the articles had been copiously debated there for several days before the bill was sent up to them: and thus this great design, so long wished and laboured for in vain, was begun, and happily ended, within the compass of nine months. The union was to commence on the 1st of May, and till that time, the two kingdoms were still distinct, and their two parliaments continued still to sit.

In Scotland, they proceeded to dispose of the sum provided to be the equivalent: in this, great partialities appeared, which were much complained of; but there was not strength to oppose them. The ministry, and those who depended on them, moved for very extravagant allowances to those who had been employed in this last, and in the former treaty; and they made large allotments of some public debts, that were complained of as unreasonable and unjust; by which, a great part of the sum was diverted from answering the end for which it was given. This was much opposed by the squadron, but as the ministers promoted it, and those who were to get by it, made all the interest they could to obtain it (some few of them only excepted, who, as became generous patriots, shewed more regard to the public than to their private ends), so those, who had opposed the union, were not ill pleased to see this sum so misapplied; hoping by that means, that the aversion, which they endeavoured to infuse into the nation against the union, would be much increased; therefore, they let every thing go as the ministers proposed, to the great grief of those who wished well to the public. It was resolved, that the parliament of England should sit out its period, which, by the law for triennial parliaments, ran yet a year further; it was thought necessary, to have another session continued of the same men who had made this union, since they would more readily consolidate and

The equivalent disposed of.



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strengthen their own work. Upon this ground, it seemed most proper, that the members to represent Scotland, should be named by the parliament there. Those who had opposed the union, carried their aversion to the squadron so far, that they concurred with the ministry in a nomination, in which very few of them were included, not above three of the peers, and fifteen commoners; so that great and just exceptions lay against many who were nominated to represent that kingdom: all this was very acceptable to those who had opposed the union. The customs of Scotland were then in a farm, and the farmers were the creatures of the ministry, some of whom, as was believed, were sharers with them: it was visible, that since there was to be a free trade opened, between Scotland and England, after the 1st of May, and since the duties of Scotland, laid on trade, were much lower than in England, that there would be a great importation into Scotland, on the prospect of the advantage, that might be made by sending it into England. Upon such an emergency, it was reasonable to break the farm, as had been ordinarily done upon less reason, and to take the customs into a new management, that so the gain, to be made in the interval, might go to the public, and not be left in private hands: but the lease was continued in favour of the farmers. They were men of no interest of their own, so it was not doubted, but that there was a secret practice in the case. Upon the view of the gain, to be made by such an importation, it was understood, that orders were sent to Holland, and other places, to buy up wine, brandy, and other merchandise. And another notorious fraud was designed by some in England, who, because of the great drawback that was allowed for tobacco and other plantation commodities, when exported, were sending great quantities to Scotland, on design to bring them back after the first of May, that so they might sell them free of that duty. So a bill was offered to the House of Commons for preventing this. While this was going on, Harley proposed the joining another clause, to this effect: that all goods, that were carried to Scotland after the first of February (unless it were by the natural-born subjects of that kingdom, inhabiting in it), in case they were imported into England after the 1st of May, should be liable to the English duties; and of this the

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proof was to lie on the importer. This angered all the Scotch, who raised a high clamour upon it, and said the union was broke by it; and that such a proceeding would have very ill effects in Scotland. But the House of Commons were so alarmed with the news of a vast importation, which was aggravated far beyond the truth, and by which they concluded the trade of England would greatly suffer, at least for a year or two, that they passed the bill and sent it to the Lords, where it was rejected; for it appeared plainly to them, that this was an infraction of some of the articles of the treaty. It was suggested, that a recess for some days was necessary, that so the Commons might have an opportunity to prepare a bill, prohibiting all goods from being brought to England, that had been sent out, only in order that the merchants might have the drawback allowed. With this view, the parliament was prorogued for a few days; but, at their next meeting, the Commons were more inflamed than before: so they prepared a new bill, to the same effect, only in some clauses it was more severe than the former had been: but the Lords did not agree to it, and so it fell.

Thus far I have carried on the recital of this great transaction, rather in such a general view as may transmit it right to posterity, than in so copious a narration, as an affair of such consequence might seem to deserve: it is very probable, that a particular journal of the debates in the parliament of Scotland, which were long and fierce, may at some time or other be made public: but I hope this may suffice for a history. I cannot, upon such a signal occasion, restrain myself from making some reflections on the directions of Providence in this matter. It is certain the design on Darien, the great charge it put the nation to, and the total miscarriage of that project, made the trading part of that kingdom see the impossibility of undertaking any great design in trade; and that made them the more readily concur in carrying on the union. The wiser men of that nation had observed long, that Scotland lay at the mercy of the ministry, and that every new set of ministers made use of their power to enrich themselves and their creatures at the cost of the public; that the judges, being made by them, were in such a dependance, that since there are no juries allowed in Scotland in civil matters, the whole pro-

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on the union.

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perty of the kingdom was in their hands, and by their means in the hands of the ministers: they had also observed, how ineffectual it had been to complain of them at court: it put those, who ventured on it, to a vast charge, to no other purpose, but to expose them the more to the fury of the ministry. The poor noblemen, and the poor boroughs, made a great majority in the parliament, and were easily to be purchased by the court: so they saw no hopes of a remedy to such a mischief, but by an incorporating union with England. These thoughts were much quickened by the prospect of recovering what they had lost in that ill-concerted undertaking of Darien; and this was so universal and so operative, that the design on Darien, which the jacobites had set on foot, and prosecuted with so much fury, and with bad intentions, did now engage many to promote the union, who, without that consideration, would have been at least neutral, if not backward in it. The court was engaged to promote the union, on account of the act of security, passed in the year 1704, which was imputed chiefly to the Lord Treasurer: threatenings of impeaching him for advising it, had been often let fall, and upon that, his enemies had set their chief hopes of pulling him down: for though no proof could be brought of his counsel in it, yet it was not doubted, but that his advice had determined the Queen to pass it. An impeachment was a word of an odious sound, which would engage a party against him, and disorder a session of parliament; and the least ill effect it might have, would be to oblige him to withdraw from business, which was chiefly aimed at. The Queen was very sensible, that his managing the great trust he was in, in the manner he did, made all the rest of her government both safe and easy to her; so she spared no pains to bring this about, and it was believed she was at no small cost to compass it, for those of Scotland had learned from England, to set a price on their votes, and they expected to be well paid for them: the Lord Treasurer did also bestir himself in this matter, with an activity and zeal that seemed not to be in his nature: and indeed, all the application, with which the court set on this affair, was necessary to master the opposition and difficulties that sprang up in the progress of it. That which completed all was, the low estate



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to which the affairs of France were reduced: they could neither spare men nor money to support their party, which otherwise they would undoubtedly have done: they had, in imitation of the Exchequer bills here in England, given out Mint bills to a great value; some said two hundred millions of livres: these were ordered to be taken by the subjects in all payments, as money to the full value, but were not to be received in payment of the King's taxes. This put them under a great discredit, and the fund created for repaying them, not being thought a good one, they had sunk 70 per cent. This created an inexpressible disorder in all payments, and in the whole commerce of France: all the methods that were proposed for raising their credit, had proved ineffectual; for they remained, after all, at the discount of 58 per cent. A court in this distress, was not in a condition to spare much, to support such an inconsiderable interest, as they esteemed their party in Scotland: so they had not the assistance which they promised themselves from thence. The conjuncture of all these things meeting together, which brought this great work to a happy conclusion, was so remarkable, that I hope my laying it all in one view, will be thought no impertinent digression.

This was the chief business of the session of parliament; and it was brought about, here in England, both sooner and with less difficulty than was expected. The grant of the supplies went on quicker than was usual. There was only one particular to which great objections were made: upon the great and early success of the former campaign, it was thought necessary to follow that with other projects, that drew on a great expense, beyond what had been estimated and laid before the parliament. An embarkation, first designed against France, and afterwards sent to Portugal, and the extraordinary supplies that the Duke of Savoy's affairs called for, amounted to about 800,000*l.* more than had been provided for by parliament. Some complained of this, and said, that if a ministry could thus run the nation into a great charge, and expect that the parliament must pay the reckoning, this might have very ill consequences. But to this it was answered, that a ministry deserved public thanks, that had followed our advantages with such vigour: if any thing was raised without necessity, or ill applied, under the pretence of serving the public, it was reasonable

The supplies  
were  
granted.

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to inquire into it, and to let it fall heavy on those who were in fault: but if no other exception lay to it, than because the matter could not be foreseen, nor communicated to the parliament before those accidents happened that occasioned the expense, it was a very unjust discouragement, if ministers were to be quarrelled with for their care and zeal: so it was carried by a great majority to discharge this debt. All the other supplies, and among them the equivalent for Scotland, were given and lodged on good funds: so that no session of parliament had ever raised so much, and secured it so well, as this had done. The session came to a happy conclusion, and the parliament to an end. But the Queen, by virtue of a clause in the act of union, revived it by proclamation. Upon this, many of the Scotch lords came up, and were very well received; two of them, Montrose and Roxburgh, were made Dukes in Scotland; some of them were made privy-counsellors in England; and a commission for a new council was sent to Scotland. There appeared soon two different parties among the Scotch: some of them moved, that there should neither be a distinct government, nor a privy-council continued there, but that all should be brought under one administration, as the several counties in England were; they said, the sooner all were consolidated, in all respects, into one body, the possibility of separating and disuniting them would be the sooner extinguished: this was pressed with the most earnestness by those who were weary of the present ministry, and longed to see their power at an end: but the ministry, who had a mind to keep up their authority, said, there was a necessity of preserving a shew of greatness, and a form of government in those parts, both for subduing the jacobites, and that the nation might not be disgusted, by too sudden an alteration of outward appearances. The court resolved to maintain the ministry there till the next session of parliament, in which new measures might be taken. Thus our affairs were happily settled at home; and the 1st of May was celebrated with a decent solemnity, for then the union took place.

Proceedings  
in convoca-  
tion.

The convocation sat this winter; and the same temper that had for some years possessed the lower house did still prevail among them. When the debates concerning the union were before the parliament, some in the lower house spoke

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very tragically on that subject: a committee was named to consider of the present danger of the church, though, but a little while before, they had concurred with the bishops in a very respectful address to the Queen, in which it was acknowledged, that the church was, under her Majesty's administration, in a safe and flourishing condition: this was carried by the private management of some aspiring men amongst them, who hoped by a piece of skill to shew what they could do, that it might recommend them to farther preferment: they were much cried out on as betrayers of their party for carrying that address; so to recover their credit, and because their hopes from the court were not so promising, they resolved now to act another part. It was given out, that they intended to make an application to the House of Commons against the union: to prevent that, the Queen wrote to the Archbishop, ordering him to prorogue them for three weeks: by this means that design was defeated; for, before the end of the three weeks, the union had passed both houses. But, when one factious design failed, they found out another: they ordered a representation to be made to the bishops, which set forth, that ever since the submission of the clergy in Henry the Eighth's time, which was for a course of an hundred and seventy-three years, no such prorogation had ever been ordered, during the sitting of parliament; and they besought the bishops, that from the conscientious regard which they doubted not they had for the welfare of this church, they would use their utmost endeavours, that they might still enjoy those usages, of which they were possessed, and which they had never misemployed; with this they brought up a schedule, containing, as they said, all the dates of the prorogations, both of parliament and convocation, thereby to make good their assertion; and, to cover this seeming complaint of the Queen's proceedings, they passed a vote, that they did not intend to enter into any debate concerning the validity of the late prorogation, to which they had humbly submitted. It was found to be a strange and a bold assertion, that this prorogation was without a precedent: their charge, in the preserving their usages, on the consciences of the bishops, insinuated that this was a breach made on them: the bishops saw this was plainly an attempt on the Queen's supremacy; so they ordered it to be laid before her Majesty;



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and they ordered also a search to be made into the records : for though it was an undoubted maxim, that nothing but a positive law could limit the prerogative, which a non-usage could not do ; yet they ordered the schedule offered by the lower house to be compared with the records : they found that seven or eight prorogations had been ordered during the sitting of parliament, and there were about thirty or forty more, by which it appeared, that the convocation sat sometimes before, and sometimes after a session of parliament, and sat sometimes even when the parliament was dissolved. Upon all this, the Queen wrote another more severe letter to the Archbishop, complaining of the clergy for not only continuing their illegal practices, but reflecting on her late order, as without a precedent, and contrary to antient usages ; which as it was untrue in fact, so it was an invasion of her supremacy : she had shewed much tenderness to the clergy, but if any thing of this nature should be attempted for the future, she would use means, warranted by law, for punishing offenders, how unwilling soever she might be to proceed to such measures. When the day came, on which this was to be communicated to the lower house, the prolocutor had gone out of town, without so much as asking the Archbishop's leave, so a very small number of the clergy appeared : upon this signal contempt, the Archbishop pronounced him contumacious, and referred the further censuring him to the day he set for their next meeting : the prolocutor's party pressed him to stand it out, and to make no submission ; but he had sounder advice given him by some who understood the law better ; so he made a full submission, with which the Archbishop was satisfied : yet a party continued, with great impatience, to assert that their schedule was true, and that the Queen was misinformed, though the Lord Chancellor, made now a peer of England, and the Lord Chief Justice Holt had, upon perusal of the records, affirmed to the Queen, that their assertion was false, and that there were many precedents for such prorogations.

Affairs in  
Italy.

And now I must look abroad into foreign affairs. The French were losing place after place in Lombardy : Cremona, Mantua, and the citadel of Milan were the only places that were left in their hands : it was not possible to maintain these long without a greater force, nor was it easy

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to convey that to them. On the other hand, the reducing those fortresses was like to be a work of time, which would fatigue the troops, and would bring a great charge with it: so a capitulation was proposed for delivering up those places, and for allowing the French troops a free march to Dauphiny. As soon as this was sent to Vienna, it was agreed to, without communicating it to the allies, which gave a just cause of offence: it was said in excuse, that every general had a power to agree to a capitulation; so the Emperor, in this case, was not bound to stay for the consent of the allies. This was true, if the capitulation had been for one single place, but this was of the nature of a treaty, being of a greater extent. By this the French saved ten or twelve thousand men, who must all have been, in a little time, made prisoners of war: they were veteran troops, and were sent into Spain, of which we quickly felt the ill effects.

The design was formed for the following campaign after this manner: the Duke of Savoy undertook to march an army into France, and to act there as should be concerted by the allies. Some proposed the marching through Dauphiny to the river of the Rhone, and so up to Lyons: but an attempt upon Toulon was thought to be the most important thing that could be designed; so that was settled on. Marshal Tesse was sent to secure the passes, and to cover France on that side. This winter the Prince of Baden died, little esteemed, and little lamented: the Marquis of Bareith had the command of the army on the Upper Rhine, from whom less was expected: he was so ill supported, that he could do nothing. The court of Vienna was so set on the reduction of Hungary, that they thought of nothing else: the Hungarians were very numerous, but they wanted both officers and discipline. Ragotski had possessed himself of almost all Transylvania, and the Hungarians were so alienated from the Emperor, that they were consulting about choosing a new king.

The eyes of all Europe were upon the King of Sweden, who, having possessed himself of Saxony, made King Augustus soon feel, that now, that his hereditary dominions were in his enemy's hands, he could no longer maintain the war in Poland: so a treaty was set on foot with such secrecy, that it was concluded before it was apprehended to

And in Poland.

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be in agitation. King Augustus was only waiting for a fit opportunity, to disengage himself from his Polanders, and from the Muscovites: an incident happened that had almost embroiled all again. The Polanders and Muscovites attacked a body of Swedes, at a great disadvantage, being much superior to them in number; so the Swedes were almost cut to pieces. King Augustus had no share in this, and did all that he durst venture on to avoid it. He paid dear for it, hard conditions were put on him, to which the necessity of his affairs forced him to submit. He made all the haste he safely could to get out of Poland: he resigned back their crown to them, and was contented with the empty name of king, though that seemed rather to be a reproach than any accession of honour to his electoral dignity; he thought otherwise, and stipulated that it should be continued to him. He was at mercy, for he had neither forces nor treasure. It was thought the King of Sweden treated him with too much rigour, when he had so entirely mastered him. The other was as little pitied as he deserved to be, for by many wrong practices he had drawn all his misfortunes on himself. The King of Sweden, being in the heart of Germany, in so formidable a posture, gave great apprehensions to the allies. The French made strong applications to him; but the courts of Prussia and Hanover were in such a concert with that King, that they gave the rest of the allies great assurances, that he would do nothing to disturb the peace of the empire, nor to weaken the alliance. The court of France pressed him to offer his mediation for a general peace; all the answer he gave was, that if the allies made the like application to him, he would interpose, and do all good offices in a treaty: so he refused to enter into any separate measures with France; yet the court of Vienna was under a great apprehension of his seeking matter for a quarrel with them. The Czar at this time overrun Poland, so that King Stanislaus was forced to fly into Saxony, to the King of Sweden, for protection. Both he and his Queen staid there all the winter, and a great part of this summer. The Czar pressed the Polanders to proceed to the election of another king, but could not carry them to that; so it was generally believed, that they were resolved to come to a treaty with King Stanislaus, and to settle the quiet of that kingdom, exhausted by a long and



destructive war. The Czar tried, if it were possible, to come to a peace with the King of Sweden, and made great offers in order to it; but that King was implacable, and seemed resolved to pull him down as he had done King Augustus. That King's designs were impenetrable, he advised with few, and kept himself on great reserves with all foreign ministers, whom he would not suffer to come near him, except when they had a particular message to deliver. Our court was advised, by the Elector of Hanover, to send the Duke of Marlborough to him. It was thought this would please him much, if it had no other effect; so he went thither, but could gain no ground on him. He affected a neglect of his person, both in clothes, lodging, and diet: all was simple, even to meanness; nay, he did not so much as allow a decent cleanliness. He appeared to have a real sense of religion, and a zeal for it, but it was not much enlightened. He seemed to have no notion of public liberty, but thought princes ought to keep their promises religiously, and to observe their treaties punctually. He rendered himself very acceptable to his army, by coming so near their way of living, and by his readiness to expose his own person, and to reward services done him. He had little tenderness in his nature, and was a fierce enemy, too rough and too savage. He looked on foreign ministers as spies by their character, and treated them accordingly; and he used his own ministers rather as instruments to execute his orders, than as counsellors.

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The character of the King of Sweden.

The court of France finding they could not prevail on him, made a public application to the Pope for his mediating a peace. They offered the dominions in Italy to King Charles, to the states a barrier in the Netherlands, and a compensation to the Duke of Savoy for the waste made in his country; provided that, on those conditions, King Philip should keep Spain and the West Indies. It was thought the court of Vienna wished this project might be entertained; but the other allies were so disgusted at it, that they made no steps toward it. The court of Vienna did what they could to confound the designs of this campaign; for they ordered a detachment of twelve thousand men to march from the army in Lombardy to the kingdom of Naples. The court of England, the states, and the Duke of Savoy, studied to divert this, with the warmest

Propositions for a peace.

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instances possible, but in vain: though it was represented to that court that if the Duke of Savoy could enter into Provence, with a great army, that would cut off all supplies and communication with France: so that success, in this great design, would make Naples and Sicily fall into their hands of course; but the imperial court was inflexible: they pretended they had given their party in Naples such assurances of an invasion, that if they failed in it, they exposed them all to be destroyed, and thereby they might provoke the whole country to become their most inveterate enemies: thus they took up a resolution without consulting their allies, and then pretended that it was fixed and could not be altered.

The battle  
of Almanza.

The campaign was opened very fatally in Spain. King Charles pretended there was an army coming into Catalonia from Roussillon; and that it was necessary for him to march into that country. The dividing a force, when the whole together was not equal to the enemy's, has often proved fatal: he ought to have made his army as strong as possibly he could, and to have marched with it to Madrid; for the rest of Spain would have fallen into his hands upon the success of that expedition; but he persisted in his first resolution, and marched away with a part of the army, leaving about sixteen thousand men under the Earl of Gallway's command. They had eaten up all their stores in Valencia, and could subsist no longer there, so they were forced to break into Castille: the Duke of Berwick came against them with an army not much superior to theirs: but the court of France had sent the Duke of Orleans into Spain with some of the best troops that they had brought from Italy; and these joined the Duke of Berwick, a day before the two armies engaged: some deserters came over, and brought the Earl of Gallway the news of the conjunction; but they were not believed, and were looked on as spies sent to frighten them. A council of war had resolved to venture on a battle, which the state of their affairs seemed to make necessary: they could not subsist where they were, nor be subsisted if they retired back into Valencia; so, on the 14th of April, the two armies engaged in the plain of Almanza. The English and Dutch beat the enemy, and broke through twice; but the Portuguese gave way: upon that the enemy, who were almost

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double in number, both horse and foot, flanked them, and a total rout followed, in which about ten thousand were killed or taken prisoners. The Earl of Gallway was twice wounded; once so near the eye, that for some time it put him out of a capacity of giving orders; but at last he, with some other officers, made the best retreat they could. Our fleet came happily on that coast, on the day that the battle was fought; so he was supplied from thence, and he put garrisons into Denia and Alicant, and retired to the Ebro with about three thousand horse and almost as many foot. The Duke of Orleans pursued the victory; Valencia submitted, and so did Saragossa; so that the principality of Catalonia was all that remained in King Charles's obedience. The King of Portugal died this winter, but that made no great change in affairs there: the young King agreed to every thing that was proposed to him by the allies; yet the Portuguese were under a great consternation, their best troops being either cut off, or at that time in Catalonia.

Marshal Villars was sent to command in Alsace. He understood that the lines of Stolhoven were ill kept, and weakly manned; so he passed the Rhine, and, without any loss and very little opposition, he broke through, and seized on the artillery, and on such magazines as were lain in there. Upon this shameful disgrace, the Germans retired to Hailbron. The circle of Suabia was now open and put under contribution; and Villars designed to penetrate as far as to Bavaria. The blame of this miscarriage was laid chiefly on the imperial court, who neither sent their quota thither, nor took care to settle a proper general for the defence of the empire. In Flanders, the French army, commanded by the Duke of Vendome, came and took post at Gemblours, in a safe camp: the Duke of Marlborough lay at Meldert in a more open one: both armies were about one hundred thousand strong; but the French were rather superior to that number.

In the month of June, the design upon Toulon began to appear. The Queen and the states sent a strong fleet thither, commanded by Sir Cloudesly Shovel: who, from mean beginnings, had risen up to the supreme command; and had given many proofs of great courage, conduct, and zeal, in the whole course of his life. Prince Eugene had



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the command of the imperial army that was to second the Duke of Savoy in this undertaking, upon the success of which the final conclusion of the war depended. The army was not so strong as it was intended it should have been. The detachment of twelve thousand men was ordered to march to Naples; and no applications could prevail at the court of Vienna to obtain a delay in that expedition: there were also eight or ten thousand recruits that were promised to be sent to reinforce Prince Eugene, which were stopped in Germany; for the Emperor was under such apprehensions of a rupture with Sweden, that he pretended it was absolutely necessary for his own safety to keep up a good force at home. Prince Eugene had also orders not to expose his troops too much; by this means they were the less serviceable: notwithstanding these disappointments, the Duke of Savoy, after he had for some weeks covered his true design, by a feint upon Dauphiny, by which he drew most of the French troops to that side; as soon as he heard that the confederate fleet was come upon the coast, he made a very quick march through ways that were thought impracticable, on to the river Var, where the French had cast up such works, that it was reckoned these must have stopped his passing the river: and they would have done it effectually, if some ships had not been sent in from the fleet, into the mouth of the river, to attack these where there was no defence; because no attack from that side was apprehended: by this means they were forced to abandon their works, and so the passage over the river was free: upon this that Duke entered Provence, and made all the haste he could towards Toulon. The artillery and ammunition were on board the fleet, and were to be landed near the place, so the march of the army was as little encumbered as was possible; yet it was impossible to advance with much haste in an enemy's country, where the provisions were either destroyed or carried into fortified places, which though they might have easily been taken, yet no time was to be lost in executing the great design: so this retarded the march for some days; yet, in conclusion, they came before the place, and were quickly masters of some of the eminences that commanded it. At their first coming, they might have possessed themselves of another called St. Anne's Hill, if Prince Eugene had executed the Duke of Savoy's orders; he did it not,

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which raised a high discontent; but he excused himself, by shewing the orders he had received not to expose the Emperor's troops. Some days were lost by the roughness of the sea, which hindered the ships from landing the artillery and ammunition. In the meanwhile, the troops of France were ordered to march from all parts to Toulon. The garrison within was very strong: the forces that were on their march to Spain, to prosecute the victory of Almanza, were countermanded; and so great a part of Villars's army was called away, that he could not make any further progress in Germany: so that a great force was, from all hands, marching to raise this siege; and it was declared, in the court of France, that the Duke of Burgundy would go and lead on the army. The Duke of Savoy lost no time, but continued cannonading the place, while the fleet came up to bombard it: they attacked the two forts that commanded the entrance into the Mole with such fury, that they made themselves masters of them; but one of them was afterwards blown up. Those within the town were not idle, they sunk some ships, in the entrance into the Mole, and fired furiously at the fleet, but did them little harm: they beat the Duke of Savoy out of one of his most important posts, which was long defended by a gallant prince of Saxe Gotha; who, not being supported in time, was cut to pieces. This post was afterwards regained, and the fleet continued for some days to bombard the place: but in the end the Duke of Savoy, whose strength had never been above thirty thousand men, seeing so great a force marching towards him, who might intercept his passage, and so destroy his whole army; and there being no hope of his carrying the place, found it necessary to march home in time, which he did with so much order and precaution, that he got back into his own country without any loss; and soon after his return, he sat down before Suza, and took it in a few weeks. Our fleet did all the execution they could on the town: their bombs set some places on fire, which they believed were magazines; for they continued burning for many hours; in conclusion they sailed off. They left behind them a fleet of six and twenty ships in the Mediterranean, and the great ships sailed homewards. Thus this great design, on which the eyes of all Europe were set, failed in the execution, chiefly by the Emperor's means.

It failed in  
the execu-  
tion.

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The siege of  
Lerida.

England and the states performed all that was expected of them, nor was the Duke of Savoy wanting on his part; though many suspected him as backward, and at least cold in the undertaking. It was not yet perfectly understood what damage the French sustained. Many of their ships were rendered unserviceable, and continue to be so still: nor did they set out any fleet all the following winter; though the affairs of King Charles in Spain were then so low, that if they could have cut off the communication by sea, between Italy and Spain, they must soon have been masters of all that was left in his hands: so that from their fitting out no fleet at Toulon, it was concluded, that they could not do it. When the design upon Toulon was broke, more troops were sent into Spain. The Earl of Gallway did, with incredible diligence and activity, endeavour to repair the loss at Almanza, as much as was possible: the supplies and stores that he had from our fleet, put him in a capacity to make a stand; he formed a new army, and put the strong places in the best posture he could. Lerida was the most exposed, and so was the best looked to: Tortosa, Tarragona, and Gironne, were also well fortified, and good garrisons were put in them. The attempt on Toulon, as it put a stop to all the motions of the French, so it gave him time to put the principality of Catalonia in a good state of defence. The Duke of Orleans, being reinforced with troops from France, set down before Lerida, in the end of September, with an army of thirty thousand men. The place was commanded by a Prince of Hesse, who held out above forty days. After some time he was forced to abandon the town, and to retire into the castle: the army suffered much in this long siege. When the besieged saw how long they could hold out, they gave the Earl of Gallway notice, upon which he intended to have raised the siege; and if the King of Spain would have consented to his drawing, out of the other garrisons, such a force as might have been spared, he undertook to raise it, which was believed might have been easily done; and if he had succeeded, it would have given a new turn to all the affairs of Spain: but Count Noyelles, who was well practised in the arts of flattery, and knew how much King Charles was alienated from the Earl of Gallway, for the honest freedom he had used with him, in laying before him some



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errors in his conduct, set himself to oppose this, apprehending that success in it, would have raised the Earl of Gallway's reputation again, which had suffered a great diminution by the action of Almanza: he said this would expose the little army they had left them to too great a hazard; for if the design miscarried, it might occasion a revolt of the whole principality. Thus the humours of princes are often more regarded than their interest; the design of relieving Lerida was laid aside. The French army was diminished a fourth part, and the long siege had so fatigued them, that it was visible the raising it would have been no difficult performance; but the thoughts of that being given over, Lerida capitulated in the beginning of November. The Spaniards made some feeble attempts on the side of Portugal, with success, for little resistance was made; the Portuguese excusing themselves by their feebleness, since their best troops were in Catalonia.

King Charles, finding his affairs in so ill a condition, wrote to the Emperor, and to the other allies, to send him supplies with all possible haste: Stanhope was sent over to press the Queen and the states to dispatch these the sooner. At the end of the campaign in Italy, seven thousand of the imperial troops were prepared to be sent over to Barcelona: and these were carried in the winter by the confederate fleet, without any disturbance given them by the French. Recruits and supplies of all sorts were sent over from England, and from the states, to Portugal. But while the house of Austria was struggling with great difficulties, two pieces of pomp and magnificence consumed a great part of their treasure: an embassy was sent from Lisbon to demand the Emperor's sister for that King, which was done with an unusual and extravagant expense: a wife was to be sought for King Charles among the protestant courts, for there was not a suitable match in the popish courts: he had seen the Princess of Anspach, and was much taken with her; so that great applications were made to persuade her to change her religion, but she could not be prevailed on to buy a crown at so dear a rate: and soon after she was married to the Prince Electoral of Brunswick, which gave a glorious character of her to this nation; and her pious firmness is like to be rewarded, even in this life, with a much better crown than that which she

Relief sent  
to Spain.

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rejected. The Princess of Wolfembuttel was not so firm; so she was brought to Vienna, and some time after was married by proxy to King Charles, and was sent to Italy in her way to Spain. The solemnity with which these matters were managed, in all this distress of their affairs, consumed a vast deal of treasure; for such was the pride of those courts on such occasions, that, rather than fail in a point of splendour, they would let their most important affairs go to wreck. That Princess was landed at Barcelona: and the Queen of Portugal, the same year, came to Holland, to be carried to Lisbon by a squadron of the English fleet.

The conquest of Naples.

But while matters were in a doubtful state in Spain, the expedition to Naples had all the success that was expected: the detachment from Lombardy marched through the ecclesiastical state, and struck no small terror into the court of Rome, as they passed near it: it was apprehended some resistance would have been made in Naples, by those who governed there under King Philip; but the inbred hatred the Neapolitans bore the French, together with the severities of their government, had put that whole kingdom into such a disposition to revolt, that the small party which adhered to King Philip, found it not advisable to offer any resistance, so they had only time enough to convey their treasure and all their richest goods to Cayeta, and to retire thither: they reckoned they would either be relieved from France by sea, or obtain a good capitulation; or if that failed, they had some ships and galleys in which they might hope to escape. The imperialists took possession of Naples, where they were received with great rejoicings; their ill conduct quickly moderated that joy, and very much disposed the Neapolitans to a second revolt; but, upon applications made to the courts of Vienna and Barcelona, the excesses of the imparialists, who carried their ravenous disposition with them wheresoever they went, were somewhat corrected, so that they became more tolerable. As soon as a government could be settled at Naples, they undertook the siege of Cayeta, which went on at first very slowly: so that those within seemed to apprehend nothing so much as the want of provisions, upon which they sent the few ships they had to Sicily to bring them supplies for all they might want; when these were

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sent away, the imperialists, knowing what a rich booty was lodged in the place, pressed it very hard, and, in conclusion, took it by storm, and so were masters of all the wealth that was in it: the garrison retired into the castle, but they were soon after forced to surrender, and were all made prisoners of war. It was proposed to follow this success with an attempt upon Sicily; but it was not easy to supply Naples with bread; nor was our fleet at liberty to assist them; for they were ordered to lie on the coast of Spain, and to wait there for orders: when these arrived, they required them to carry the Marquis das Minas and the Earl of Gallway, with the forces of Portugal, to Lisbon, which was happily performed: and the Earl of Gallway found the character and powers of an ambassador lying for him there. The thoughts of attempting Sicily were therefore laid aside for this time, though the Sicilians were known to be in a very good disposition to entertain it. A small force was sent from Naples, to seize on those places which lay on the coast of Tuscany, and belonged to the crown of Spain: some of them were soon taken, but Porto Longone and Port Hercole made a better resistance. This was the state of affairs in Italy and Spain all this year, and till the opening of the campaign the next year.

Villars continued in Germany, laying Suabia under heavy contributions; and very probably he would have penetrated into Bavaria, if the detachments he was ordered to send away had not so weakened his army, that he durst not venture further, nor undertake any considerable siege. While the empire was thus exposed, all men's eyes turned towards the Elector of Brunswick, as the only person that could recover their affairs out of those extremities into which they were brought: the Emperor pressed him to accept of the supreme command; this was seconded by all the allies, but most earnestly by the Queen and the states: the Elector used all the precaution that the embarking in such a design required, and he had such assurances of assistance from the princes and circles, as he thought might be depended upon; so he undertook the command. His first care was to restore military discipline, which had been very little considered or submitted to for some years past; and he established this with such impartial severity, that the face of affairs there was soon changed: but the army

Affairs on  
the Rhine.



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was too weak, and the season was too far spent, to enter on great designs. One considerable action happened, which very much raised the reputation of his conduct: Villars had sent a detachment of three thousand horse and dragoons, either to extend his contribution, or to seize on some important post: against these, the Elector sent out another body that fell upon the French, and gave them a total defeat, in which two thousand of them were cut off: soon after that, Villars retired back to Strasburgh, and the campaign in those parts ended.

The King of  
Prussia  
judged  
Prince of  
Neufchatel.

I will take in here a transaction that lay not far from the scene of action. There was, all this summer, a dispute at Neufchatel upon the death of the old Dutchess of Nemours, in whom the house of Longueville ended: she enjoyed this principality, which, since it lay as a frontier to Swisserland, was on this occasion much considered. There were many pretenders of the French nation; the chief was the Prince of Conti; all these came to Neufchatel, and made their application to the states of that country, and laid their several titles before them: the King of France seemed to favour the Prince of Conti most; but yet he left it free to the states to judge of their pretensions, provided they gave judgment in favour of one of his subjects; adding severe threatenings in case they should judge in behalf of any other pretender. The King of Prussia, as heir by his mother to the house of Chaalons, claimed it as his right, which the late King had by a particular agreement made over to him; so he sent a minister thither to put in his claim: and the Queen, and the states, ordered their ministers in Swisserland to do their best offices, both for advancing his pretensions, and to engage the cantons to maintain them; the King of Sweden wrote also the cantons to the same effect. The allies looked on this as a matter of great consequence, since it might end in a rupture between the protestant cantons and France; for the popish cantons were now wholly theirs. After much pleading, and a long dispute, the states of the principality gave judgment in favour of the King of Prussia; the French pretenders protested against this, and left Neufchatel in a high discontent: the French ambassador threatened that little state with an invasion, and all commerce with them was forbid: the canton of Bern espoused their concern with a spirit and

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zeal that was not expected from them: they declared they were in comburghership with them; and, upon that, they sent a body of three thousand men to defend them. The French continued to threaten, and Villars had orders to march a great part of his army towards them; but when the court of France saw that the cantons of Bern and Zurich were not frightened with those marches, they let the whole matter fall very little to their honour: and so the intercourse between the French dominions and that state was again opened, and the peace of the cantons was secured. The King of Prussia engaged his honour that he would govern that state with a particular zeal, for advancing both religion and learning in it; and upon these assurances he persuaded the bishops of England, and myself in particular, to use our best endeavours to promote his pretensions; upon which we wrote, in the most effectual manner we could, to Monsieur Ostervald, who was the most eminent ecclesiastic of that state, and one of the best and most judicious divines of the age: he was bringing that church to a near agreement with our forms of worship: the King of Prussia was well set in all matters relating to religion; and had made a great step in order to reconcile the Lutherans and the Calvinists in his dominions, by requiring them not to preach to the people on those points in which they differ; and by obliging them to communicate together, notwithstanding the diversity of their opinions: which is indeed the only wise and honest way to make up that breach.

The affinity of the matter leads me next to give an account of the differences between the King of Sweden and the court of Vienna: that King, after he had been a very heavy guest in Saxony, came to understand, that the protestants in Silesia had their churches, and the free exercise of their religion, stipulated to them by the peace of Munster, and that the crown of Sweden was the guarantee for observing this: these churches were taken from them; so the King of Sweden was in justice bound to see to the observing of that article; he very readily embraced this opportunity, which had been long neglected, or forgotten by his father. When this was first represented to the court of Vienna, it was treated there with much scorn: and Count Zabor, one of the ministers of that court, spoke of the King of Sweden in a style, that he thought furnished him with a

The King of Sweden gets the protestant churches in Silesia to be restored to them.

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just pretension to demand, that he should be sent to him, to be punished as he thought fit: this was soon yielded; the Count was sent to the King, and made such an humble submission to him, as was accepted: but the demand for restoring the churches, was a matter of hard digestion to a bigoted and haughty court. The King of Sweden had a great army at hand, and he threatened an immediate rupture, if this demand was not agreed to without delay: in this he was so positive, that the imperial court at last yielded, they being then in no condition to resist a warlike Prince, and an army, hardened by an exact discipline, and the fatigues of a long war; so that every thing that was demanded, pursuant to that article of the treaty of Munster, was agreed to be performed, within a prefixed time: and upon that, the King of Sweden marched his army, under the most regular discipline, through Silesia, as had been agreed, into Poland. The Jesuits made great opposition to the performance of what had been stipulated; but the imperial court would not provoke a Prince, who they thought was seeking a colour to break with them: so, by the day prefixed, all the churches were restored to the protestants in Silesia. Upon this, he was highly magnified, and great endeavours were again used, to engage him in the alliance; but he was so set against the Czar, whom he designed to dethrone, that nothing could then divert him from it: yet he so far entered into the interests of religion, that, as he wrote to the King of France, desiring him not to oppose the King of Prussia in his pretensions on Neufchatel, he also wrote to the cantons, desiring them to promote and support them. The cantons seeing those characters of zeal in him, sent a French gentleman of quality to him, the Marquis de Rochegude, to let him know what regard they had to his recommendations, and to desire him to interpose his good offices with the King of France, for setting at liberty about three hundred persons, who were condemned to the galleys, and treated most cruelly in them, upon no other pretence, but because they would not change their religion, and had endeavoured to make their escape out of France: he received this message with a particular civility, and immediately complied with it; ordering his minister, at the court of France, to make it his desire to that King, that these confessors might be delivered to him; but the



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ministers of France said, that was a point of the King's government at home, in which he could not suffer foreign princes to meddle: he seemed sensible of this neglect, and it was hoped, that when his affairs could admit of it, he would express a due resentment of it.

To end all the affairs of Germany for this year, at once; I must mention a quarrel, raised in **Hamburgh**, between some private persons, one of whom was a Lutheran minister; which created a great division in that city. One side was protected by the senate, which gave so great a disgust to the other side, that it was like to end in a revolt against the magistrates, and a civil war within the town: and it being known, that the King of Denmark had, for many years, had an eye on that place, the neighbouring princes apprehended, that he might take advantage from those commotions, or that the weaker side might choose rather to fall under his power, than under the revenges of the adverse party. The Kings of Sweden and Prussia, with the house of Brunswick, resolved therefore to send troops thither, to quiet this distraction, and to chastise the more refractory; while the Emperor's ministers, together with the Queen's, endeavoured to accommodate matters, without suffering them to run to extremities.

It remains, that I give an account of the campaign in **Flanders**: the French kept close within their posts; though the Duke of Marlborough often drew out his troops to see if that could provoke them; but they were resolved not to fight on equal terms; and it was not thought advisable to attempt the forcing their posts: they lay, for some months, looking on one another; but both armies had behind them such a safe and plentiful conveyance of provisions, that no want of any sort could oblige either side to dislodge. The Duke of Vendome had orders to send detachments to reinforce Marshal Villars, in lieu of those detachments that he had been ordered to send to Provence. The Duke of Savoy seemed to wonder that the confederates lay so quiet, and gave the Duke of Vendome no disturbance; and that they could not, at least, oblige him to keep all his army together. At last the Duke of Marlborough decamped, and moved towards French Flanders: the French decamped, about the same time, but lodged themselves again in such a safe camp, that he could not force them into any action;

A sedition  
in Ham-  
burgh.

The cam-  
paign in  
Flanders.

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Affairs at  
sea.

nor was his army so numerous, as to spare a body to undertake a siege, by that means to draw them to a battle; so that the campaign was carried on there in a very inoffensive manner on both sides; and thus matters stood in the continent, every where this season.

France set out no fleet this year, and yet we never had greater losses on that element: the Prince's council was very unhappy in the whole conduct of the cruizers and convoys: the merchants made heavy complaints, and not without reason: convoys were sometimes denied them, and when they were granted, they were often delayed beyond the time limited for the merchants to get their ships in readiness; and the sailing orders were sometimes sent them so unhappily (but as many said, so treacherously), that a French squadron was then lying in their way to intercept them. This was liable to very severe reflections: for many of the convoys, as well as the merchant ships were taken; and to complete the misfortunes of our affairs at sea this year, when Sir Cloudesly Shovel was sailing home with the great ships, by an unaccountable carelessness and security, he, and two other capital ships, ran foul upon those rocks beyond the Land's End, known by the name of the Bishop and his Clerks; and they were in a minute broke to pieces, so that not a man of them escaped. It was dark, but there was no wind, otherwise the whole fleet had perished with them: all the rest tacked in time, and so they were saved. Thus one of the greatest seamen of the age was lost by an error in his own profession, and a great misreckoning, for he had laid by all the day before, and set sail at night, believing, that next morning he would have time enough to guard against running on those rocks; but he was swallowed up within three hours after.

Proceed-  
ings with  
relation to  
Scotland.

This was the state of our affairs abroad, both by sea and land. Things went at home in their ordinary channels; but the conduct with relation to Scotland, was more unaccountable: for, whereas it might have been reasonably expected, that the management of the newly united part of this island, should have been particularly taken care of, so as to give no just distaste to the Scots, nor offer handles to those who were still endeavouring to inflame that nation, and to increase their aversion to the union; things were on the contrary so ordered, as if the design had been to

contrive methods to exasperate the spirits of the people there. Though the management of the Scotch revenue was to fall into the Lord Treasurer's hands, on the 1st of May, no care was taken to have all the commissions ready at the day, with new officers to serve in them; so that the whole trade of Scotland was stopped for almost two months for want of orders to put it into the new course, in which it was to be carried on. Three months passed before the equivalent was sent to Scotland; and when wines and other merchandise were imported into England from thence, seizures were every where made, and this was managed with a particular affectation of roughness. All these things heightened the prejudices, with which that nation had been possessed against the union: it was also known that many messages passed between Scotland and France, and that there were many meetings, and much consultations among the discontented party there; a great body appeared openly for the pretended Prince of Wales, and celebrated his birthday very publicly, both at Edinburgh, and in other places of the kingdom: and it was openly talked, that there was now an opportunity, that was not to be lost, of invading the kingdom, though with a small force; and that a general concurrence, from the body of that nation, might be depended on: these things were done in so barefaced a manner, that no check being given to them, nor inquiry made after them by those who were in the government, it gave occasion to many melancholy speculations. The management from England looked like a thing concerted to heighten that distemper; and the whole conduct of the fleet afforded great cause of jealousy.

But to open this, as clearly as it has yet appeared to me, A new party at court. I must give an account of a new scene at court. It was observed, that Mr. Harley, who had been for some years secretary of state, had gained great credit with the Queen, and began to set up for himself, and to act no more under the direction of the Lord Treasurer: there was one of the bedchamber women, who, being nearly related to the Dutchess of Marlborough, had been taken care of by her, together with her whole family (for they were fallen low) in a most particular manner. She brought her not only into that post, but she had treated her with such a confidence that it had introduced her into a high degree of favour with



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the Queen; which, for some years, was considered as an effect of the Dutchess of Marlborough's credit with her; she was also nearly related to Mr. Harley, and they two entered into a close correspondence. She learned the arts of a court, and observed the Queen's temper with so much application, that she got far into her heart; and she employed all her credit to establish Harley in the supreme confidence with the Queen, and to alienate her affections from the Dutchess of Marlborough, who studied no other method of preserving her favour, but by pursuing the true interest of the Queen, and of the kingdom. It was said, that the Prince was brought into the concert, and that he was made to apprehend that he had too small a share in the government; and that he was shut out from it by the great power that the Duke of Marlborough and the Lord Treasurer had drawn into their hands: it was said, all depended on them, that the Queen was only a cypher in the government, that she was in the Dutchess of Marlborough's hands, as her affairs were in the Duke of Marlborough's. It was likewise talked, among those who made their court to the new favourites, that there was not now a jacobite in the nation, that all were for the Queen; and that, without doubt, she would reign out peaceably her whole life; but she needed not concern herself for a German family: these discourses began to break out, and gave sad thoughts to those to whom they were brought. This went on too long, little regarded; the Dutchess of Marlborough seemed secure of her interest in the Queen, and shewed no jealousy of a favour, to which herself gave the first rise. This was the state of the court at the opening of the session of parliament.

Promotions  
in the  
church.

There were, at that time, three bishoprics vacant: Trelawny had been removed, the summer before, from Exeter to Winchester; which gave great disgust to many, he being considerable for nothing, but his birth and his interest in Cornwall. The Lord Treasurer had engaged himself to him, and he was sensible that he was much reflected upon for it: but he, to soften the censure that was brought on him, had promised, that, for the future, preferments should be bestowed on men well principled, with relation to the present constitution, and on men of merit. The Queen, without regarding this, did secretly engage herself to Dr. Blackhall,

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for Exeter; and Chester (being at the same time void, by the death of Dr. Stratford) to Sir William Dawes, for that see: these divines were in themselves men of value and worth, but their notions were all on the other side; they had submitted to the government, but they, at least Black-hall, seemed to condemn the Revolution, and all that had been done pursuant to it. Dawes also was looked on as an aspiring man, who would set himself at the head of the tory party: so this nomination gave a great disgust. To qualify this a little, Patrick, the pious and learned Bishop of Ely, dying at this time, the Queen advanced More, from Norwich, thither; and Dr. Trimmell, a worthy person in all respects, was named for Norwich: yet this did not quiet the uneasiness many were under by reason of the other nominations, which seemed to flow from the Queen herself, and so discovered her inclinations. To prevent the ill effects, that this might have, in the approaching session, some of the eminent members of the House of Commons were called to a meeting with the Dukes of Somerset and Devonshire: these Lords assured them, in the Queen's name, that she was very sensible of the services the whigs did her; and though she had engaged herself so far, with relation to those two bishoprics, that she could not recall the promises she had made, yet, for the future, she was resolved to give them full content. But while this was said to some whigs, Harley and his friends, St. John and Harcourt, took great pains on the leaders of the tories, in particular on Hanmer, Bromley, and Freeman, to engage them in the Queen's interests: assuring them, that her heart was with them, that she was weary of the tyranny of the whigs, and longed to be delivered from it. But they were not wrought on, by that management; they either mistrusted it, as done only to ensnare them, or they had other views, which they did not think fit to own. This double-dealing came to be known, and gave occasion to much jealousy and distrust. A little before the session was opened, an eminent misfortune happened at sea: a convoy, of five ships of the line of battle, was sent to Portugal, to guard a great fleet of merchant ships; and they were ordered to sail, as if it had been by concert, at a time when a squadron from Dunkirk had joined another from Brest, and lay in the way, waiting for them. Some advertisements

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were brought to the Admiralty, of this conjunction, but they were not believed. When the French set upon them, the convoy did their part very gallantly, though the enemy were three to one; one of the ships was blown up, three of them were taken, so that only one escaped, much shattered: but they had fought so long, that most of the merchantmen had time to get away, and sailed on, not being pursued, and so got safe to Lisbon. This coming almost at the same time with the misfortune that happened to Shovel, the session was begun with a melancholy face; and a dispute, upon their opening, had almost put them into great disorder.

It was generally thought that though this was a parliament that had now sat two years, yet it was a new parliament, by reason it had been let fall, and was revived by a proclamation, as was formerly told: and the consequence of this was, that those who had got places, were to go to a new election. Others maintained, that it could not be a new parliament, since it was not summoned by a new writ, but by virtue of a clause in an act of parliament. The Duke of Marlborough, upon his coming over, prevailed to have it yielded to be a new parliament; but Harley was for maintaining it to be an old parliament. The House of Commons chose the same speaker over again, and all the usual forms, in the first beginning of a new parliament, were observed.

Complaints  
of the Ad-  
miralty.

These were no sooner over, than the complaints of the Admiralty were offered to both houses: great losses were made, and all was imputed to the weakness, or to a worse disposition, in some, who had great credit with the Prince, and were believed to govern that whole matter: for as they were entirely possessed of the Prince's confidence, so when the Prince's council was divided in their opinions, the decision was left to the Prince, who understood very little of those matters, and was always determined by others. By this means they were really lord high admiral, without being liable to the law for errors and miscarriages. This council was not a legal court, warranted by any law, though they assumed that to themselves; being counsellors, they were bound to answer only for their fidelity. The complaints were feebly managed, at the bar of the House of Commons; for it was soon understood, that not only the Prince,



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but the Queen likewise concerned herself much in this matter: and both looked on it as a design, levelled at their authority. Both whigs and tories seemed to be at first equally zealous in the matter; but by reason of the opposition of the court, all those, who intended to recommend themselves to favour, abated of their zeal: some were vehement in their endeavours to baffle the complaints; they had great advantages, from the merchants managing the complaints but poorly: some were frightened, and others were practised on, and were carried even to magnify the conduct of the fleet, and to make excuses for all the misfortunes that had happened. That which had the chief operation on the whole tory party, was, that it was set round among them, that the design of all these complaints, was to put the Earl of Orford again at the head of the fleet: upon which they all changed their note; and they, in concurrence with those who were in offices, or pretended to them, managed the matter so, that it was let fall, very little to their honour. Unkind remarks were made on some, who had changed their conduct upon their being preferred at court; but the matter was managed with more zeal and courage in the House of Lords, both whigs and tories concurring in it.

A committee was appointed to examine the complaints; they called the merchants, who had signed the petition, before them; and treated them, not with the scorn that was very indecently offered them by some of the House of Commons, but with great patience and gentleness: they obliged them to prove all their complaints by witnesses upon oath. In the prosecution of the inquiry, it appeared that many ships of war were not fitted out to be put to sea, but lay in port neglected, and in great decay: that convoys had been often flatly denied the merchants; and that when they were promised, they were so long delayed, that the merchants lost their markets, were put to great charge, and when they had perishable goods, suffered great damage in them. The cruizers were not ordered to proper stations in the Channel; and when convoys were appointed, and were ready to put to sea, they had not their sailing orders sent them, till the enemy's ships were laid in their way, prepared to fall on them, which had often happened. Many advertisements, by which those misfortunes might have been pre-

Examined  
by the  
House of  
Lords.

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vented, had been offered to the Admiralty, but had not only been neglected by them, but those who offered them had been ill treated for doing it. The committee made report of all this to the House of Lords; upon which the Lord Treasurer moved, that a copy of the report might be sent to the Lord Admiral, which was done, and in a few days an answer was sent to the House, excusing, or justifying the conduct, in all the branches of it. The chief foundation of the answer was, that the great fleets, which were kept in the Mediterranean, obliged us to send away so many of our ships and seamen thither, that there was not a sufficient number left to guard all our trade, while the enemy turned all their forces at sea into squadrons for destroying it; and that all the ships that could be spared, from the public service abroad, were employed to secure the trade: the promise of convoys had been often delayed, by reason of cross winds, and other accidents, that had hindered the return of our men of war longer than was expected; they being then abroad, convoying other merchant ships: and it was said, that there was not a sufficient number of ships, for cruizers and convoys both. The paper ended with some severe reflections on the last reign, in which great sums were given for the building of ships, and yet the fleet was at that time much diminished, and four thousand merchant ships had been taken during that war: this was believed to have been suggested by Mr. Harley, on design to mortify King William's ministry. Upon reading of this answer, a new and fuller examination of the particulars was again resumed, by the same committee; and all the allegations in it were exactly considered: it appeared, that the half of those seamen, that the parliament had provided for, were not employed in the Mediterranean; that many ships lay idle in port, and were not made use of; and that in the last war, in which it appeared there were more seamen, though not more ships, employed in the Mediterranean, than were now kept there, yet the trade was so carefully looked after, by cruizers and convoys, that few complaints were then made: and as to the reflections made on the last reign, it was found that not half the sum that was named, was given for the building of ships; and that instead of the fleets being diminished, during that war, as had been affirmed, it was increased by about forty ships;

nor could any proof be given, that four thousand ships were taken during that war: all the seamen who were then taken and exchanged, did not exceed fifteen thousand, and in the present war eighteen thousand were already exchanged; and we had two thousand still remaining in our enemy's hands: so much had the Prince been imposed on in that paper that was sent to the Lords in his name.

When the examination was ended, and reported to the House, it was resolved to lay the whole matter before the Queen, in an address; and then the tories discovered the design that they drove at; for they moved in the committee that prepared the address, that the blame of all their miscarriages might be laid on the ministry, and on the cabinet council. It had been often said, in the House of Lords, that it was not intended to make any complaint to the Prince himself, and it not being admitted that his council was of a legal constitution, the complaining of them would be an acknowledging their authority; therefore the blame could be laid regularly no where, but on the ministry. This was much pressed by the Duke of Buckingham, the Earl of Rochester, and the Lord Haversham. But to this it was answered, by the Earl of Orford, the Lord Somers, and the Lord Hallifax, that the House ought to lay before the Queen only that which was made out before them upon oath; and therefore, since in the whole examination, the ministry and the cabinet council were not once named, they could offer the Queen nothing to their prejudice. Some of the things complained of fell on the navy-board, which was a body acting by a legal authority: the Lords ought to lay before the Queen, such miscarriages as were proved to them, and leave it to her to find out on whom the blame ought to be cast: so far was the ministry from appearing to be in fault, that they found several advertisements were sent by the Secretary of State, to the Admiralty, that, as appeared afterwards, were but too well grounded; yet these were neglected by them; and that which raised the clamour the higher, was, that during the winter there were no cruizers laying in the Channel; so that many ships which had run through all the dangers at sea, were taken in sight of land, for the privateers came boldly up to our ports. All this was digested into a full and clear address, laid by the House before the Queen: there was a general answer

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And laid before the Queen in an address.



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made to it, giving assurances that the trade should be carefully looked to, but nothing else followed upon it; and the Queen seemed to be highly offended at the whole proceeding. At this time, an inquiry likewise into the affairs of Spain was begun in both houses.

Inquiry in-  
to the affairs  
of Spain.

The Earl of Peterborough had received such positive orders recalling him, that though he delayed as long as he could, yet at last he came home in August: but the Queen, before she would admit him into her presence, required of him an account of some particulars in his conduct, both in military matters, in his negotiations, and in the disposal of the money remitted to him. He made such general answers as gave little satisfaction: but he seemed to reserve the matter to a parliamentary examination, which was entered upon by both houses. All the tories magnified his conduct, and studied to detract from the Earl of Gallway; but it was thought, that the ministry were under some restraints, with relation to the Earl of Peterborough, though he did not spare them; which gave occasion to many to say, they were afraid of him, and durst not provoke him. The whigs, on the other hand, made severe remarks on his conduct; the complaints that King Charles made of him were read, upon which he brought such a number of papers, and so many witnesses to the bar, to justify his conduct, that after ten or twelve days spent wholly in reading papers, and in hearing witnesses, both houses grew equally weary of the matter; so, without coming to any conclusion, or to any vote, they let all that related to him fall: but that gave them a handle to consider the present state of affairs in Spain. It was found, that we had not above half the troops there that the parliament had made provision for; and that not above half the officers that belonged to those bodies served there: this gave the House of Commons a high distaste, and it was hoped by the tories, that they should have carried the House to severe votes and warm addresses on that head, which was much laboured by them, in order to load the ministry. In this, Harley and his party were very cold and passive, and it was generally believed, that the matter was privately set on by them. But the court sent an explanation of the whole matter to the House, by which it appeared, that though, by death and desertion, the number of the troops there was

much diminished, yet the whole number provided, or at least very near it, was sent out of England. The service in Spain was much decried, and there was good reason for it; things there could not be furnished but at excessive rates, and the soldiers were generally ill used in their quarters. They were treated very unkindly, not by King Charles, but by those about him, and by the bigoted Spaniards.

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During these debates, severe things were said in general of the conduct of affairs in both houses. It was observed, that a vast army was well supplied in Flanders, but that the interest of the nation required that Spain should be more considered. It was moved in both houses, that the Emperor should be earnestly applied to, to send Prince Eugene into Spain; complaints were also made of the Duke of Marlborough, as continuing the war, though at the end of the campaign of 1706, the French had offered to yield up Spain and the West Indies; but that was a false suggestion. All these heats in the House, after they had got this vent, were allayed: the Queen assured them, all past errors should be redressed for the future; and, with repeated importunities, she pressed the Emperor to send Prince Eugene to Spain: that court delayed to comply in this particular, but sent Count Staremberg thither, who had indeed acquired a very high reputation. The Queen entered also into engagements with the Emperor, that she would transport, pay, and furnish all the troops that he could spare for his brother's service. These steps quieted the discontent the House had expressed, upon the ill conduct of affairs in Spain; but upon Stanhope's coming over, he gave a better prospect of affairs there; and he found a readiness to agree to all the propositions that he was sent over to make. All this while an act was preparing, both for a better security to our trade by cruizers and convoys, and for the encouraging privateers, particularly in the West Indies, and in the South Sea. They were to have all they could take entirely to themselves; the same encouragement was also given to the captains of the Queen's ships, with this difference, that the captains of privateers were to divide their capture according to agreements made among themselves; but they left the distribution of prizes, taken by men of war, to the Queen; who, by proclamation, ordered

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them to be divided into eight shares, of which the captain was to have three, unless he had a superior officer over him, in which case, the commodore was to have one of the three; the other five parts were to be distributed equally among the officers and mariners of the ships, put in five different classes: all the clauses that the merchants desired, to encourage privateers, were readily granted, and it was hoped, that a great stock would be raised to carry on this private war. This passed without opposition, all concurring in it.

But as to other matters, the tories discovered much ill humour against the ministry, which broke out on all occasions: and the jealousies with which the whigs were possessed, made them as cold as the others were hot. This gave the ministers great uneasiness: they found Mr. Harley was endeavouring to supplant them at court, and to heighten the jealousies of the whigs; for he set it about among the tories, as well as among the whigs, that both the Duke of Marlborough and the Lord Treasurer were as much inclined to come into measures with the tories, as the Queen herself was: this broke out, and was like to have had very ill effects; it had almost lost them the whigs, though it did not bring over the tories.

Discoveries  
of a corres-  
pondence  
with France.

At this time two discoveries were made, very unlucky for Mr. Harley: Tallard wrote oft to Chamillard, but he sent his letters open to the secretary's office, to be perused and sealed up, and so to be conveyed by the way of Holland: these were opened upon some suspicion in Holland; and it appeared, that one in the secretary's office put letters in them, in which, as he offered his services to the courts of France and St. Germans, so he gave an account of all transactions here: in one of these, he sent a copy of the letter that the Queen was to write, in her own hand, to the Emperor; and he marked what parts of the letter were drawn by the Secretary, and what additions were made to it by the Lord Treasurer: this was the letter by which the Queen pressed the sending Prince Eugene into Spain, and this, if not intercepted, would have been at Versailles many days before it could reach Vienna. He who sent this, wrote, that by this they might see what service he could do them, if well encouraged: all this was sent over to the Duke of Marlborough, and upon search it was found



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to be writ by one Gregg, a clerk, whom Harley had not only entertained, but had taken into a particular confidence, without inquiring into the former parts of his life; for he was a vicious and a necessitous person, who had been secretary to the Queen's envoy in Denmark, but was dismissed by him for those, his ill qualities. Harley had made use of him to get him intelligence, and he came to trust him with the perusal and the sealing up of the letters which the French prisoners, here in England, sent over to France; and by that means he got into the method of sending intelligence thither. He, when seized on, either upon remorse or the hopes of pardon, confessed all, and signed his confession; upon that he was tried; he pleaded guilty, and was condemned as a traitor, for corresponding with the Queen's enemies. At the same time, Valiere and Bara, whom Harley had employed as his spies, to go off over to Calais, under the pretence of bringing him intelligence, were informed against as spies employed by France, to get intelligence from England; who carried over many letters to Calais and Boulogne; and, as was believed, gave such information of our trade and convoys, that by their means we had made our great losses at sea. They were often complained of upon suspicion, but they were always protected by Harley; yet the presumptions against them were so violent, that they were at last seized on and brought up prisoners. These accidents might make Harley more earnest to bring about a change in the conduct of affairs, in which he relied on the credit of the new favourite. The Duke of Marlborough and the Lord Treasurer having discovered many of his practices, laid them before the Queen; she would believe nothing that was suggested to his prejudice: she denied she had given any authority for carrying messages to the tories: but would not believe that he or his friends had done it; nor would she enter into any examination of his ill conduct, and was uneasy when she heard it spoke of. So these lords wrote to the Queen, that they could serve her no longer, if he was continued in that post; and on the Sunday following, when they were summoned to a cabinet council, they both went to the Queen, and told her, they must quit her service, since they saw she was resolved not to part with Harley. She seemed not much concerned at the Lord Godolphin's offering to

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lay down; and it was believed to be a part of Harley's new scheme to remove him: but she was much touched with the Duke of Marlborough's offering to quit, and studied, with some soft expressions, to divert him from that resolution; but he was firm, and she did not yield to them; so they both went away, to the wonder of the whole court. Immediately after, the Queen went to the cabinet council, and Harley opened some matters relating to foreign affairs. The whole board was very uneasy: the Duke of Somerset said, he did not see how they could deliberate on such matters, since the General was not with them; he repeated this with some vehemence, while all the rest looked so cold and sullen, that the cabinet council was soon at an end; and the Queen saw that the rest of her ministers, and the chief officers, were resolved to withdraw from her service, if she did not recal the two that had left it. It was said, that she would have put all to the hazard, if Harley himself had not apprehended his danger, and resolved to lay down. The Queen sent the next day for the Duke of Marlborough, and, after some expostulations, she told him, Harley should immediately leave his post, which he did within two days: but the Queen seemed to carry a deep resentment of his and the Lord Godolphin's behaviour on this occasion; and though they went on with their business, they found they had not her confidence. The Dutchess of Marlborough did, for some weeks, abstain from going to court, but afterwards that breach was made up in appearance, though it was little more than an appearance. Both houses of parliament expressed a great concern at this rupture in the court, and apprehended the ill effects it might have. The Commons let the bill of supply lie on the table, though it was ordered for that day; and the Lords ordered a committee to examine Gregg and the other prisoners. As Harley laid down, both Harcourt, then attorney-general, Mansel, the comptroller of the household, and St. John, the secretary of war, went and laid down with him. The Queen took much time to consider how she should fill some of these places, but Mr. Boyle, uncle to the Earl of Burlington, was presently made secretary of state.

An examination  
into

The Lords who were appointed to examine Gregg, could not find out much by him; he had but newly begun his de-

signs of betraying secrets ; and he had no associates with him in it : he told them, that all the papers of state lay so carelessly about the office, that every one belonging to it, even the door-keepers, might have read them all. Harley's custom was to come to the office late on post nights, and after he had given his orders, and wrote his letters, he usually went away, and left all to be copied out when he was gone : by that means he came to see every thing, in particular the Queen's letter to the Emperor. He said, he knew the design on Toulon in May last, but he did not discover it, for he had not entered on his ill practices till October : this was all he could say. By the examination of Valiere and Bara, and of many others who lived about Dover, and were employed by them, a discovery was made of a constant intercourse they were in with Calais, under Harley's protection : they often went over with boats full of wool, and brought back brandy, though both the import and export were severely prohibited : they, and those who belonged to the boats carried over by them, were well treated on the French side, at the governor's house, or at the commissary's : they were kept there till their letters could be sent to Paris, and till returns could be brought back, and were all the while upon free cost : the order that was constantly given them was, that if any English or Dutch ship came up to them, they should cast their letters into the sea ; but that they should not do it when French ships came up to them ; so they were looked on by all on that coast as the spies of France. They used to get what information they could, both of merchant ships, and of the ships of war that lay in the Downs ; and upon that they usually went over, and it happened that soon after some of those ships were taken. These men, as they were papists, so they behaved themselves very insolently, and boasted much of their power and credit. Complaints had been often made of them, but they were always protected ; nor did it appear that they ever brought any information of importance to Harley but once, when, according to what they swore, they told him, that Fourbin was gone to Dunkirk, to lie in wait for the Russian fleet ; which proved to be true : he both went to watch for them, and he took a great part of the fleet. Yet, though this was the single piece of intelligence that they ever brought, Harley took so little notice

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that corres-  
pondence.



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of it, that he gave no advertisement to the Admiralty, concerning it. This particular excepted, they only brought over common news, and the Paris gazettes. These examinations lasted for some weeks; when they were ended, a full report was made of them to the House of Lords; and they ordered the whole report, with all the examinations, to be laid before the Queen in an address, in which they represented to her, the necessity of making Gregg a public example; upon which he was executed: he continued to clear all other persons of any accession to his crimes, of which he seemed very sensible, and died much better than he had lived.

A very few days after the breach that had happened at court, we were alarmed from Holland with the news of a design, of which the French made then no secret; that they were sending the pretended Prince of Wales to Scotland, with a fleet and an army, to possess himself of that kingdom. But before I go further, I will give an account of all that related to the affairs of that part of the island.

Proceedings  
with relation  
to Scotland.

The members sent from Scotland to both houses of parliament, were treated with very particular marks of respect and esteem: and they were persons of such distinction that they very well deserved it. The first thing proposed in the House of Commons, with relation to them, was to take off the stop that was put on their trade. It was agreed unanimously, to pray the Queen, by an address, that she would give order for it; some debate arising only whether it was a matter of right or of favour: Harley pressed the last, to justify those proceedings in which he himself had so great a share, as was formerly set forth, and on which others made severe reflections: but since all agreed in the conclusion, the dispute concerning the premises was soon let fall. After this, a more important matter was proposed, concerning the government of Scotland, whether it should continue in a distinct privy-council or not; all the court was for it: those who governed Scotland, desired to keep up their authority there, with the advantage they made by it; and they gave the ministers of England great assurances, that by their influence elections might be so managed as to serve all the ends of the court; but they said, that without due care these might be carried so as to run all the contrary way: this was the secret motive, yet this

could not be owned in a public assembly; so that which was pretended, was, that many great families in Scotland, with the greatest part of the highlanders, were so ill affected that without a watchful eye, ever intent upon them, they could not be kept quiet: it lay at too great a distance from London to be governed by orders sent from thence. To this it was answered, that by the circuits of the judicary courts, and by justices of peace, that country might be well governed, notwithstanding its distance, as Wales and Cornwall were: it was carried, upon a division, by a great majority, that there should be only one privy-council for the whole island. When it was sent up to the Lords, it met with a great opposition there. The court stood alone; all the tories, and the much greater part of the whigs, were for the bill. The court, seeing the party for the bill so strong, was willing to compound the matter; and whereas, by the bill, the council of Scotland was not to sit after the 1st of May, the court moved to have it continued to the 1st of October. It was visible that this was proposed only in order to the managing elections for the next parliament; so the Lords adhered to the day prefixed in the bill; but a new debate arose about the power given by the bill to the justices of peace, which seemed to be an encroachment on the jurisdiction of the Lords' regalities, and of the hereditary sheriffs and stewards, who had the right of trying criminals, in the first instance, for fourteen days' time: yet it was ordinary, in the cases of great crimes and riots, for the privy-council to take immediate cognizance of them, without any regard to the fourteen days; so by this act, the justices of peace were only empowered to do that which the privy-council usually did: and, except the occasion was so great as to demand a quick dispatch, it was not to be doubted, but that the justices of peace would have great regard to all private rights; yet since this had the appearance of breaking in upon private rights, this was much insisted on by those who hoped, by laying aside these powers given to the justices of the peace, to have gained the main point of keeping up a privy-council in Scotland; for all the Scotch ministers said, the country would be in great danger if there were not a supreme government still kept up in it: but it seemed an absurd thing that there should be a different adminis-

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tration where there was but one legislature. While Scotland had an entire legislature within itself, the nation assembled in parliament could procure the correction of errors in the administration: whereas now, that it was not a tenth part of the legislative body, if it was still to be kept under a different administration, that nation could not have strength enough to procure a redress of its grievances in parliament; so they might come to be subdued and governed as a province; and the arbitrary way in which the council of Scotland had proceeded ever since King James the First's time, but more particularly since the Restoration, was fresh in memory, and had been no small motive to induce the best men of that nation to promote the union; that they might be delivered from the tyranny of the council: and their hopes would be disappointed if they were still kept under that yoke: this point was, in conclusion, yielded, and the bill passed, though to the great discontent of the court: there was a new court of exchequer created in Scotland, according to the frame of that court in England. Special acts were made for the elections and returns of the representatives in both houses of parliament; and such was the disposition of the English to oblige them, and the behaviour of the Scotch was so good and discreet, that every thing that was proposed for the good of their country, was agreed to; both whigs and tories vied with one another, who should shew most care and concern for the welfare of that part of Great Britain.

A descent  
designed  
upon Scot-  
and.

On the 20th of February, which was but a few days after the act, dissolving the council in Scotland, had passed, we understood there was a fleet prepared in Dunkirk, with about twelve battalions, and a train of all things necessary for a descent in Scotland: and a few days after, we heard that the pretended Prince of Wales was come from Paris, with all the British and Irish that were about him, in order to his embarkation. The surprise was great, for it was not looked for, nor had we a prospect of being able to set out in time, a fleet able to deal with theirs, which consisted of twenty-six ships, most of them above forty guns: but that Providence (which has, on all occasions, directed matters so happily for our preservation) did appear very signally in this critical conjuncture: our greatest want was of seamen, to man the fleet; for the ships were ready to be put to sea:



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this was supplied by several fleets of merchant ships, that came home at that time with their convoys: the flag officers were very acceptable to the seamen, and they bestirred themselves so effectually, that, with the help of an embargo, there was a fleet of above forty ships got ready in a fortnight's time, to the surprise of all at home as well as abroad: these stood over to Dunkirk; just as they were embarking there. Upon the sight of so great a fleet, Fourbin, who commanded the French fleet, sent to Paris for new orders: he himself was against venturing out, when they saw a superior fleet ready to engage or to pursue them. The King of France sent positive orders to prosecute the design: so Fourbin (seeing that our fleet, after it had shewed itself to them, finding the tides and sea run high, as being near the equinox, had sailed back into the Downs) took that occasion to go out of Dunkirk on the 8th of March: but contrary winds kept him on that coast till the 11th, and then he set sail with a fair wind. Our admiral, Sir George Bing, came over again to watch his motions; and as soon as he understood that he had sailed, which was not till twenty hours after, he followed him. The French designed to have landed in the Frith, but they outsailed their point a few leagues; and by the time that they had got back to the north side of the Frith, Bing came to the south side of it, and gave the signal for coming to an anchor; this was heard by Fourbin: he had sent a frigate into the Frith, to give signals, which it seems had been agreed on, but no answers were made. The design was to land near Edinburgh, where they believed the castle was in so bad a condition, and so ill provided, that it must have surrendered upon summons; and they reckoned, that upon the reputation of that, the whole body of the kingdom would have come in to them. But when Fourbin understood, on the 13th of March, that Bing was so near him, he tacked, and would not stay to venture an engagement. Bing pursued him with all the sail that he could make, but the French stood out to sea; there was some firing on the ships that sailed the heaviest, and the Salisbury, a ship taken from us, and then their vice-admiral, was engaged by two English ships, and taken without any resistance. There were about five hundred landmen on board her, with some officers and persons of quality: the chief of these were the Lord Griffin, and the

A fleet sailed  
from Dun-  
kirk.

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Reports  
spread by  
the French.

Earl of Midletoun's two sons. Bing (having lost sight of the French, considering that the Frith was the station of the greatest importance, as well as safety, and was the place where they designed to land) put in there till he could hear what course the French steered. The tides ran high, and there was a strong gale of wind. Upon the alarm of the intended descent, orders were sent to Scotland to draw all their forces about Edinburgh. The troops that remained in England were ordered to march to Scotland; and the troops in Ireland were ordered to march northward, to be ready when called for: there were also twelve battalions sent from Ostend under a good convoy, and they lay at the mouth of the Tyne till further orders: thus all preparations were made to dissipate that small force; but it appeared that the French relied chiefly on the assistance that they expected would have come in to them upon their landing: of this they seemed so well assured that the King of France sent instructions to his ministers in all the courts that admitted of them, to be published every where, that the pretended Prince being invited by his subjects, chiefly those of Scotland, to take possession of the throne of his ancestors, the King had sent him over at their desire, with a fleet and army to assist him: that he was resolved to pardon all those who should come in to him, and he would trouble none upon the account of religion. Upon his being re-established, the King would give peace to the rest of Europe. When these ministers received these directions, they had likewise advice sent them, which they published both at Rome, Venice, and in Swisserland, that the French had, before this expedition was undertaken, sent over some ships with arms and ammunition to Scotland: and that there was already an army on foot there that had proclaimed this pretended Prince, king. It was somewhat extraordinary to see such eminent falsehoods published all Europe over: they also affirmed, that hostages were sent from Scotland to Paris, to secure the observing the engagements they had entered into; though all this was fiction and contrivance.

The states were struck with great apprehensions; so were all the allies; for though they were so long accustomed to the cunning practices of the court of France, yet this was an original: and therefore it was generally con-

cluded, that so small an army, and so weak a fleet, would not have been sent but upon great assurances of assistance, not only from Scotland, but from England: and, upon this occasion, severe reflections were made, both on the conduct of the Admiralty, and on that tract of correspondence lately discovered, that was managed under Harley's protection; and on the great breach that was so near the disjointing all our affairs but a few days before. These things, when put together, filled men's minds with thoughts of no easy digestion.

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The parliament was sitting, and the Queen, in a speech to both houses, communicated to them the advertisements she had received: both houses made addresses to her, giving her full assurance of their adhering steadfastly to her, and to the protestant succession; and mixed with these broad intimations of their apprehensions of treachery at home. They passed also two bills; the one that the abjuration might be tendered to all persons, and that such as refused it should be in the condition of convict recusants: by the other, they suspended the habeas corpus act till October, with relation to persons taken up by the government upon suspicion; and the House of Commons, by a vote, engaged to make good to the Queen all the extraordinary charge this expedition might put her to.

The parliament stands firmly by the Queen.

A fortnight went over before we had any news of the French fleet. Three of their ships landed near the mouth of Spey, only to refresh themselves, for the ships being so filled with landmen, there was a great want of water. At last all their ships got safe into Dunkirk: the landmen either died at sea, or were so ill that all the hospitals in Dunkirk were filled with them. It was reckoned, that they lost above four thousand men in this unaccountable expedition: for they were above a month tossed in a very tempestuous sea. Many suspected persons were taken up in Scotland, and some few in England; but further discoveries of their correspondents were not then made. If they had landed, it might have had an ill effect on our affairs, chiefly with relation to all paper credit: and if by this the remittances to Piedmont, Catalonia, and Portugal had been stopped, in so critical a season, that might have had fatal consequences abroad: for if we had been put into such a disorder at home, that foreign princes could no more reckon

The French fleet got again into Dunkirk.



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on our assistance, they might have been disposed to hearken to the propositions that the King of France would then have probably made to them. So that the total defeating of this design, without its having the least ill effect on our affairs, or our losing one single man in the little engagement we had with the enemy, is always to be reckoned as one of those happy providences for which we have much to answer.

The Queen seemed much alarmed with this matter, and saw with what falsehoods she had been abused, by those who pretended to assure her there was not now a jacobite in the nation : one variation in her style was now observed ; she had never in any speech, mentioned the Revolution or those who had been concerned in it : and many of those, who made a considerable figure about her, studied, though against all sense and reason, to distinguish her title from the Revolution ; it was plainly founded on it, and on nothing else. In the speeches she now made, she named the Revolution twice ; and said she would look on those concerned in it as the surest to her interests : she also fixed a new designation on the pretended Prince of Wales, and called him the Pretender ; and he was so called in a new set of addresses, which, upon this occasion, were made to the Queen : and I intend to follow the precedent, as often as I may have occasion hereafter to mention him. The session of parliament was closed in March, soon after defeating this design of a descent : it was dissolved in April by proclamation, and the writs were issued out for the elections of a new parliament, which raised that ferment over the nation that was usual on such occasions. The just and visible dangers to which the attempt of the invasion had exposed the nation, produced very good effects : for the elections did, for the most part, fall on men well affected to the government, and zealously set against the Pretender.

The designs  
of the cam-  
paign are  
concerted.

As soon as the state of affairs at home was well settled, the Duke of Marlborough went over to Holland, and there Prince Eugene met him, being sent by the Emperor to concert with him and the states the operations of the campaign ; from the Hague they both went to Hanover, to settle all matters relating to the empire, and to engage the Elector to return to command the army on the Upper Rhine. Every thing was fixed : Prince Eugene went back

to Vienna, and was obliged to return by the beginning of June; for the campaign was then to be opened every where. 1708.

The court of France was much mortified by the disappointment they had met with in their designs against us; but to put more life in their troops, they resolved to send the Duke of Burgundy with the Duke of Berry to be at the head of their army in Flanders: the Pretender went with them, without any other character than that of the Chevalier de St. George. The Elector of Bavaria, with the Duke of Berwick, were sent to command in Alsace, and Marshal Villars was sent to head the forces in Dauphiny. The credit, with relation to money, was still very low in France; for, after many methods taken for raising the credit of the Mint bills, they were still at a discount of forty per cent. No fleets came this year from the West Indies, so that they could not be supplied from thence.

The Duke of Orleans was sent to command in Spain; and, according to the vanity of that nation, it was given out that they were to have mighty armies in many different places, and to put an end to the war there. Great rains fell all the winter in all the parts of Spain; so that the campaign could not be so soon opened as it was at first intended. The bills that the Duke of Orleans brought with him to Spain were protested, at which he was so much displeased, that he desired to be recalled: this was remedied in some degree, though far short of what was promised to him. The troops of Portugal, that lay at Barcelona ever since the battle of Almanza, were brought about by a squadron of our ships, to the defence of their own country: Sir John Leak came also over thither from England with recruits, and other supplies, that the Queen was to furnish that crown with: and when all was landed, he sailed into the Mediterranean to bring over troops from Italy, for the strengthening of King Charles, whose affairs were in great disorder.

After all the boasting of the Spaniards, their army, on the side of Portugal, was so weak that they could not attempt any thing; so this was a very harmless campaign on both sides, the Portuguese not being much stronger. The Duke of Orleans sat down before Tortosa in June, and though Leak dissipated a fleet of tartanes, sent from France to supply his army, and took about fifty of them, which Tortosa besieged and taken.

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was a very seasonable relief to those in Barcelona, upon which it was thought the siege of Tortosa would be raised; yet it was carried on till the last of June, and then the garrison capitulated.

Supplies  
sent from  
Italy to  
Spain.

Leak sailed to Italy, and brought from thence both the new Queen of Spain and eight thousand men with him; but, by reason of the slowness of the court of Vienna, these came too late to raise the siege of Tortosa; the snow lay so long on the Alps, that the Duke of Savoy did not begin the campaign till July, then he came into Savoy, of which he possessed himself without any opposition: the whole country was under a consternation as far as Lyons.

On the Upper Rhine, the two Electors continued looking on one another, without venturing on any action; but the great scene was laid in Flanders: the French princes came to Mons, and there they opened the campaign, and advanced to Soignies, with an army of an hundred thousand men: the Duke of Marlborough lay between Enghien and Hall with his army, which was about eighty thousand.

Ghent and  
Bruges  
taken by the  
French.

The French had their usual practices on foot in several towns in those parts. A conspiracy to deliver Antwerp to them was discovered and prevented: the truth was, the Dutch were severe masters and the Flandrians could not bear it; though the French had laid heavier taxes on them, yet they used them better in all other respects: their bigotry being wrought on by their priests, disposed them to change masters, so these practices succeeded better in Ghent and Bruges. The Duke of Marlborough resolved not to weaken his army by many garrisons; so he put none at all in Bruges, and a very weak one in the citadel of Ghent, reckoning that there was no danger as long as he lay between those places and the French army. The two armies lay about a month looking on one another, shifting their camps a little, but keeping still in safe ground, so that there was no action all the while; but, near the end of June, some bodies drawn out of the garrisons about Ypres, came and possessed themselves of Bruges without any opposition: and the garrison in Ghent was too weak to make any resistance, so they capitulated and marched out: upon this, the whole French army marched towards those places, hoping to have carried Oudenarde in their way,



The Duke of Marlborough followed so quick, that they drew off from Oudenarde as he advanced: in one day, which was the last of June, he made a march of five leagues, passed the Scheld without any opposition, came up to the French army, and engaged them in the afternoon. They had the advantage both of numbers and of ground, yet our men beat them from every post, and, in an action that lasted six hours, we had such an entire advantage, that nothing but the darkness of the night, and the weariness of our men, saved the French army from being totally ruined. There were about five thousand killed, and about eight thousand made prisoners (of whom one thousand were officers) and about six thousand more deserted; so that the French lost at least twenty thousand men, and retired in great haste, and in greater confusion, to Ghent. On the confederates' side, there were about one thousand killed, and two thousand wounded; but our army was so wearied, with a long march and a long action, that they were not in a condition to pursue with that haste that was to be desired; otherwise great advantages might have been made of this victory. The French posted themselves on the great canal that runs from Ghent to Bruges: Prince Eugene's army of about thirty thousand men, was now very near the great army, and joined it in a few days after this action: but he himself was come up before them, and had a noble share in the victory; which, from the neighbourhood of that place, came to be called the battle of Oudenarde.

The French had recovered themselves out of their first consternation, during that time, which was necessary to give our army some rest and refreshment: and they were so well posted, that it was not thought fit to attack them. Great detachments were sent, as far as to Arras, to put all the French countries under contribution; which struck such a terror every where, that it went as far as to Paris. Our army could not block up the enemy's on all sides, the communication with Dunkirk by Newport was still open, and the French army was supplied from thence: they made an invasion into the Dutch Flanders: they had no great cannon, so they could take no place, but they destroyed the country with their usual barbarity.

In conclusion, the Duke of Marlborough, in concert with Prince Eugene and the states, resolved to besiege

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The battle  
of Oude-  
narde.

Lisle be-  
sieged.

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Lisle, the capital town of the French Flanders: it was a great, a rich, and a well fortified place, with a very strong citadel: it had been the first conquest the French King had made, and it was become, next to Paris, the chief town in his dominions. Marshal Boufflers threw himself into it, with some of the best of the French troops: the garrison was at least twelve thousand strong; some called it fourteen thousand. Prince Eugene undertook the conduct of the siege, with about thirty thousand men, and the Duke of Marlborough, with the rest of the army, lay on the Scheldt at Pont-Esperies, to keep the communication open with Brussels. Some time was lost before the great artillery could be brought up: it lay at Sass van Ghent, to have been sent up the Lys, but now it was to be carried about by Antwerp to Brussels, and from thence land by carriages to the camp, which was a long and a slow work: in that some weeks were lost, so that it was near the end of August, before the siege was begun. The engineers promised the states, to take the place within a fortnight after the trenches were open; but the sequel shewed that they reckoned wrong. There were some disputes among them; errors were committed by those who were in greatest credit, who thought the way of sap the shortest, as well as surest method: yet after some time lost in pursuing this way, they returned to the ordinary method. Boufflers made a brave and a long defence: the Duke of Burgundy came with his whole army so near ours, that it seemed he designed to venture another battle, rather than lose so important a place: and the Duke of Marlborough was, for some days, in a posture to receive him: but when he saw that his whole intention in coming so near him was only to oblige him to be ready for an action, without coming to any, and so to draw off a great part of those bodies that carried on the siege, leaving only as many as were necessary to maintain the ground they had gained, he drew a line before his army, and thought only of carrying on the siege; for while he looked for an engagement, no progress was made in that.

The French  
drew lines  
all along the  
Scheldt.

After some days, the French drew off, and fell to making lines all along the Scheldt, but chiefly about Oudenarde, that they might cut off the communication between Brussels and our camp, and so separate our army from all intercourse with Holland. The lines were about seventy

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miles long, and in some places near Oudenarde, they looked liker the ramparts of a fortified place, than ordinary lines; on these they laid cannon, and posted the greatest part of their army upon them, so that they did effectually stop all communication by the Scheld. Upon which the states ordered all that was necessary, both for the army and for the siege, to be sent to Ostend: and if the French had begun their designs with the intercepting this way of conveyance, the siege must have been raised, for want of ammunition to carry it on.

About this time, six thousand men were embarked at Portsmouth, in order to be sent over to Portugal: but they were ordered to lie for some on the coast of France, all along from Boulogne to Dieppe, in order to force a diversion, we hoping, that this would oblige the French to draw some of their troops out of Flanders for the defence of their coast. This had no great effect, and the appearance that the French made, gave our men such apprehensions of their strength, that though they once begun to land their men, yet they soon returned back to their ships: but as their behaviour was not a little censured, so the state of the war in Flanders made it necessary to have a greater force at Ostend. They were, upon this, ordered to come and land there: Earl, who commanded them, came out and took a post at Leffingen, that lay on the canal, which went from Newport to Bruges, to secure the passage of a great convoy of eight hundred waggons, that were to be carried from Ostend to the army: if that had been intercepted, the siege must have been raised: for the Duke of Marlborough had sent some ammunition from his army, to carry on the siege, and he could spare no more. He began to despair of the undertaking, and so prepared his friends to look for the raising the siege, being in great apprehensions concerning this convoy; upon which, the whole success of this enterprise depended: he sent Webb, with a body of six thousand men, to secure the convoy.

The French, who understood well of what consequence this convoy was, sent a body of twenty thousand men, with forty pieces of cannon to intercept it: Webb, seeing the inequality between his strength and the enemy's, put his men into the best disposition he could. There lay cop-pices on both sides of the place, where he posted himself;

A new supply to Ostend.

A defeat given the French when they were three to one.



1708.



he lined these well, and stood still for some hours, while the enemy cannonaded him, he having no cannon to return upon them: his men lay flat on the ground till that was over. But when the French advanced, our men fired upon them, both in front and from the coppices, with that fury, and with such success, that they began to run; and though their officers did all that was possible to make them stand, they could not prevail: so, after they had lost about six thousand men, they marched back to Bruges: Webb durst not leave the advantageous ground he was in, to pursue them, being so much inferior in number. So unequal an action, and so shameful a flight, with so great loss, was looked on as the most extraordinary thing that had happened during the whole war: and it encouraged the one side as much as it dispirited the other. Many reproaches passed on this occasion, between the French and the Spaniards; the latter, who had suffered the most, blaming the former for abandoning them: this, which is the ordinary consequence of all great misfortunes, was not soon quieted.

The convoys from Ostend came safe to the camp.

Leffingen taken by the French.

The convoy arriving safe in the camp, put new life in our army: some other convoys came afterwards, and were brought safe: for the Duke of Marlborough moved, with his whole army, to secure their motions, nor did the enemy think fit to give them any disturbance for some time. By the means of these supplies, the siege was carried on so effectually, that by the end of October the town capitulated: Marshal Boufflers retiring into the citadel, with six thousand men. The French saw of what importance the communication by Ostend was to our army, which was chiefly maintained by the body that was posted at Leffingen; so they attacked that with a very great force: the place was weak of itself, but all about was put under water, so it might have made a longer resistance: it was too easily yielded up by those within it, who were made prisoners of war. Thus the communication with Ostend was cut off, and upon that the French flattered themselves with the hopes of starving our army; having thus separated it from all communication with Holland: insomuch that it was reported, the Duke of Vendome talked of having our whole forces delivered into his hands, as prisoners of war, for want of bread, and other necessaries. It is true, the Duke of Marlborough sent out great bodies both into the French

Flanders, and into the Artois, who brought in great stores of provisions : but that could not last long.

1708.

The French army lay all along the Scheld, but had sent a great detachment to cover the Artois : all this while there was a great misunderstanding between the Duke of Burgundy and the Duke of Vendome ; the latter took so much upon him, that the other officers complained of his neglecting them : so they made their court to the Duke of Burgundy, and laid the blame of all his miscarriages on Vendome. He kept close to the orders he had from Versailles, where the accounts he gave, and the advices he offered, were more considered than those that were sent by the Duke of Burgundy : this was very uneasy to him, who was impatient of contradiction, and longed to be in action, though he did not shew the forwardness in exposing his own person that was expected : he seemed very devout, even to bigotry ; but by the accounts we had from France, it did appear, that his conduct during the campaign, gave no great hopes or prospect from him, when all things should come into his hands : Chamillard was often sent from court to soften him, and to reconcile him to the Duke of Vendome, but with no effect.

Misunder-  
standing be-  
tween the  
Dukes of  
Burgundy  
and Ven-  
dome.

The Elector of Bavaria had been sent to command on the Upper Rhine : the true reason was believed, that he might not pretend to continue in the chief command in Flanders : he was put in hopes of being furnished with an army so strong, as to be able to break through into Bavaria. The Elector of Hanover did again undertake the command of the army of the empire : both armies were weak ; but they were so equally weak, that they were not able to undertake any thing on either side : so after some months, in which there was no considerable action ; the forces on both sides went into winter quarters. Then the court of France, believing that the Elector of Bavaria was so much beloved in Brussels, that he had a great party in the town, ready to declare for him, ordered an army of fourteen thousand men, with a good train of artillery, to be brought together, and with that body he was sent to attack Brussels ; in which, there was a garrison of six thousand men. He lay before the town five days ; in two of these he attacked it with great fury : he was once master of the counterscarp, but he was

Affairs on  
the Upper  
Rhine.

The Elector  
of Bavaria  
sent to at-  
tack Brus-  
sels.

1708.



The Duke  
of Marlbo-  
rough pass-  
ed the  
Scheld and  
the lines.

soon beaten out of it; and though he repeated his attacks very often, he was repulsed in them all.

The Duke of Marlborough hearing of this, made a sudden motion towards the Scheld: but to deceive the enemy, it was given out, that he designed to march directly towards Ghent, and this was believed by his whole army, and it was probably carried to the enemy; for they seemed to have no notice nor apprehension of his design on the Scheld: he advanced towards it in the night, and marched with the foot very quick, leaving the horse to come up with the artillery: the lines were so strong, that it was expected, that in the breaking through them, there must have been a very hot action: some of the general officers told me, that they reckoned it would have cost them at least ten thousand men; but to their great surprise, as soon as they passed the river, the French ran away, without offering to make the least resistance; and they had drawn off their cannon the day before. Our men were very weary with the night's march, so they could not pursue; for the horse were not come up, nor did the garrison of Oudenarde sally out; yet they took a thousand prisoners. Whether the notice of the feint, that the Duke of Marlborough gave out of his design on Ghent, occasioned the French drawing off their cannon, and their being so secure, that they seemed to have no apprehensions of his true designs, was not yet certainly known: but the abandoning those lines, on which they had been working for many weeks, was a surprise to all the world: their councils seemed to be weak, and the execution of them was worse: so that they, who were so long the terror, were now become the scorn of the world.

The Elector  
of Bavaria  
drew off  
from Brus-  
sels.

The main body of their army retired to Valenciennes, great detachments were sent to Ghent and Bruges: as soon as the Elector of Bavaria had the news of this unlooked-for reverse of their affairs, he drew off from Brussels with such precipitation, that he left his heavy cannon and baggage, with his wounded men, behind him: so this design, in which three thousand men were lost, came soon to an end. Those who thought of presages, looked on our passing the lines on the same day, in which the parliament of England was opened, as a happy one. Prince Eugene had marched, with the greatest part of the force that



lay before Lisle, (leaving only what was necessary to keep the town, and to carry on the sap against the citadel,) to have a share in the action that was expected in forcing the lines: but he came quickly back when he saw there was no need of him, and that the communication with Brussels was opened.

The siege of the citadel was carried on in a slow but sure method: and when the besiegers had lodged themselves in the second counterscarp, and had raised all their batteries, so that they were ready to attack the place, in a formidable manner; Marshal Boufflers thought fit to prevent that, by a capitulation. It was now near the end of November; so he had the better terms granted him: for it was resolved, as late as it was in the year, to reduce Ghent and Bruges, before this long campaign should be concluded: he marched out with five thousand men, so that the siege had cost those within as many lives as it did the besiegers, which were near eight thousand.

This was a great conquest: the noblest, the richest, and the strongest town in those provinces, was thus reduced: and the most regular citadel in Europe, fortified and furnished at a vast expense, was taken without firing one cannon against it. The garrison was obliged to restore to the inhabitants all that had been carried into the citadel, and to make good all the damages that had been done the town, by the demolishing of houses, while they were preparing themselves for the siege: all the several methods the French had used to give a diversion, had proved ineffectual: but that, in which the observers of Providence rejoiced most, was the signal character of a particular blessing on this siege: it was all the whole time a rainy season, all Europe over, and in all the neighbouring places; yet during the siege of the town, it was dry and fair about it: and on those days of capitulation, in which time was allowed for the garrison to march into the citadel, it rained; but as soon as these were elapsed, so that they were at liberty to besiege the citadel, fair weather returned, and continued till it was taken.

From Lisle the army marched to invest Ghent, though it was late in the year; for it was not done before December. The French boasted much of their strength, and they had, by some new works, made a shew of designing an

1708.

The citadel  
of Lisle ca-  
pitulated.

Reflections  
that passed  
on it.

Ghent and  
Bruges re-  
taken.

1708.

obstinate resistance. They stood it out, till the trenches were far advanced, and the batteries were finished, so that the whole train of artillery was mounted: when all was ready to fire on the town, the Governor, to save both that and his garrison, thought fit to capitulate: he had an honourable capitulation, and a general amnesty was granted to the town, with a new confirmation of all their privileges. The burghers did not deserve so good usage; but it was thought fit, to try how far gentle treatment could prevail on them, and overcome their perverseness: and indeed it may be thought, that they had suffered so much by their treachery, that they were sufficiently punished for it: Ghent was delivered to the Duke of Marlborough on the last of December, N. S. so gloriously was both the year and the campaign finished at once: for the garrison, that lay at Bruges, and in the forts about it, withdrew without staying for a summons. These being evacuated, the army was sent into winter quarters.

A very hard  
winter.

It had not been possible to have kept them in the field much longer; for within two or three days after, there was a great fall of snow, and that was followed by a most violent frost, which continued the longest of any in the memory of man; and though there were short intervals of a few days of thaw, we had four returns of an extreme frost, the whole lasting about three months. Many died in several parts, by the extremity of the cold; it was scarcely possible to keep the soldiers alive, even in their quarters: so that they must have perished, if they had not broke up the campaign before this hard season. This coming on so quick, after all that was to be done abroad was effectuated, gave new occasions to those, who made their remarks on Providence, to observe the very great blessings of this conjuncture, wherein every thing that was designed, was happily ended just at the critical time, that it was become necessary to conclude the campaign: and indeed the concurrence of those happy events, that had followed us all this year, from the Pretender's first setting out from Dunkirk, to the conclusion of it, was so signal, that it made great impressions on many of the chief officers, which some owned to myself; though they were the persons, from whom I expected it least.

The campaign in Spain was more equally balanced:

the Duke of Orleans took Tortosa ; Denia was also forced to capitulate, and the garrison were made prisoners of war. But these losses by land were well made up by the successes of our fleet : Sardinia was reduced, after a very feeble and short struggle : the plenty of the island made the conquest the more considerable at that time, for in Catalonia they were much straitened for want of provisions, which were now supplied from Sardinia. Towards the end of the campaign, the fleet, with a thousand landmen on board, came before Minorca, and in a few days made themselves masters of that island, and of those forts that commanded Port Mahon, the only valuable thing in that island : all was carried after a very faint resistance, the garrisons shewing either great cowardice, or great inclinations to King Charles. By this, our fleet had got a safe port to lie in and to refit, and to retire into on all occasions ; for till then we had no place nearer than Lisbon : this was such an advantage to us, as made a great impression on all the princes and states in Italy.

1708.  
Sardinia and  
Minorca re-  
duced.

At this time the Pope began to threaten the Emperor with ecclesiastical censures, and a war, for possessing himself of Commachio, and for taking quarters in the papal territories : he levied troops, and went often to review them, not without the affectation of shewing himself a general, as if he had been again to draw the sword, as St. Peter did : he opened Sixtus the Fifth's treasure, and took out of it five hundred thousand crowns for this service : many were afraid that this war should have brought the Emperor's affairs into a new entanglement ; for the court of France laid hold of this rupture, and to inflame it, sent Marshal Tesse to Rome, to encourage the Pope with great assurances of support. He was also ordered to try, if the Great Duke, and the republics of Venice and Genoa, could be engaged in an alliance against the imperialists.

The Pope  
threatens  
the Emperor  
with cen-  
sures and a  
war.

The Emperor bore all the Pope's threats with great patience, till the Duke of Savoy ended the campaign : that Duke, at the first opening of it, marched into Savoy, from whence it was thought his designs were upon Dauphiny. Villars was sent against him, to defend that frontier ; though he did all he could to decline that command : he drew all his forces together to cover Dauphiny, and by these motions, the passage into the Alps was now open :

The Duke  
of Savoy  
took Exilles  
and Fenestrel-  
la.



1708.



so the Duke of Savoy secured that, and then marched back to besiege first Exilles, and then Fenestrella, two places strong by their situation, from whence excursions could have been made into Piedmont; so that in case of any misfortune in that Duke's affairs, they would have been very uneasy neighbours to him: he took them both. The greatest difficulty in those sieges was from the impracticableness of the ground, which drew them out into such a length, that the snow began to fall by the time both were taken. By this means the Alps were cleared, and Dauphiny was now open to him: he was also master of the valley of Pragelas, and all things were ready for a greater progress in another campaign.

The Emperor's troops, that were commanded by him, were, at the end of the season, ordered to march into the Pope's territories; and were joined by some more troops, drawn out of the Milanese and the Mantuan. The Pope's troops began the war in a very barbarous manner; for while they were in a sort of cessation, they surprised a body of the imperialists, and without mercy put them all to the sword: but as the imperial army advanced, the Papalins, or, as the Italians in derision called them, the Papagallians, fled every where before them, even when they were three to one. As they came on, the Pope's territories and places were all cast open to them: Bologna, the most important, and the richest of them all, capitulated; and received them without the least resistance. The people of Rome were uneasy at the Pope's proceedings, and at the apprehensions of a new sack from a German army: they shewed this so openly, that tumults there were much dreaded, and many cardinals declared openly against this war. The Emperor sent a minister to Rome, to see if matters could be accommodated: but the terms proposed seemed to be of hard digestion, for the Pope was required to acknowledge King Charles, and in every particular to comply with the Emperor's demands.

The Pope is obliged to submit to the Emperor.

The Pope was amazed at his ill success, and at those high terms; but there was no remedy left: the ill state of affairs in France was now so visible, that no regard was had to the great promises which Marshal Tessé was making, nor was there any hopes of drawing the princes and states of Italy into an alliance for his defence. In conclusion, the

Pope, after he had delayed yielding to the Emperor's demands long enough to give the imperialists time to eat up his country, at last submitted to every thing; yet he delayed acknowledging King Charles for some months, though he then promised to do it; upon which the Emperor drew his troops out of his territories. The Pope turned over the manner of acknowledging King Charles to a congregation of cardinals; but, they had no mind to take the load of this upon themselves, which would draw an exclusion upon them from France, in every conclave; they left it to the Pope, and he affected delays; so that it was not done till the end of the following year.

1703.

And acknowledged  
King Charles.

The affairs in Hungary continued in the same ill state in which they had been for some years: the Emperor did not grant the demands of the diet, that he had called; nor did he redress their grievances, and he had not a force strong enough to reduce the malecontents: so that his council could not fall on methods, either to satisfy or to subdue them.

Affairs in  
Hungary.

Poland continued still to be a scene of war and misery; to their other calamities, they had the addition of a plague, which laid some of their great towns waste. The party, formed against Stanislaus, continued still to oppose him, though they had no king to head them: the King of Sweden's warlike humour, possessed him to such a degree, that he resolved to march into Muscovy. The Czar tried how far submissions and intercessions could soften him, but he was inflexible; he marched through the Ukrain, but made no great progress: the whole Muscovite force fell on one of his generals, that had about him only a part of his army, and gave him a total defeat, most of his horse being cut off. After that, we were for many months without any certain news from those parts: both sides pretended they had great advantages; and as Stanislaus's interests carried him to set out and magnify the Swedish success, so the party that opposed him, studied as much to raise the credit of the Muscovites: so that it was not yet easy to know what to believe further, than that there had been no decisive action throughout the whole year; nor was there any during the following winter.

And in Po-  
land.

Our affairs at sea were less unfortunate this year, than they had been formerly: the merchants were better served

Affairs at  
sea.

1708.



with convoys, and we made no considerable losses. A squadron that was sent to the Bay of Mexico, met with the galleons, and engaged them: if all their captains had done their duty, they had been all taken: some few fought well. The admiral of the galleons, which carried a great treasure, was sunk; the vice-admiral was taken, and the rear-admiral run himself ashore near Carthagena, the rest got away. The enemy lost a great deal by this action, though we did not gain so much as we might have done, if all our captains had been brave and diligent. Another squadron carried over the Queen of Portugal, which was performed with great magnificence; she had a quick and easy passage. This did in some measure compensate to that crown for our failing them, in not sending over the supplies that we had stipulated; it was a particular happiness, that the Spaniards were so weak, as not to be able to take advantage of the naked and unguarded state, in which the Portuguese were at this time.

Prince  
George's  
death.

In the end of October, George, Prince of Denmark, died, in the fifty-sixth year of his age, after he had been twenty-five years and some months married to the Queen: he was asthmatical, which grew on him with his years; for some time he was considered as a dying man, but the last year of his life, he seemed to be recovered to a better state of health. The Queen had been, during the whole course of her marriage, an extraordinary tender and affectionate wife; and in all his illness, which lasted some years, she would never leave his bed; but sat up, sometimes half the night in the bed by him, with such care and concern, that she was looked on very deservedly as a pattern in this respect.

And charac-  
ter.

This Prince had shewed himself brave in war, both in Denmark and in Ireland. His temper was mild and gentle: he had made a good progress in mathematics. He had travelled through France, Italy, and Germany, and knew much more than he could well express; for he spoke acquired languages ill and ungracefully. He was free from all vice: he meddled little in business, even after the Queen's accession to the crown: he was so gained to the tories, by the act which they carried in his favour, that he was much in their interest: he was unhappily prevailed with to take on him the post of high-admiral, of which he understood little, but was fatally led by those who had



credit with him, who had not all of them his good qualities, but had both an ill-temper and bad principles; his being bred to the sea, gained him some credit in those matters. In the conduct of our affairs, as great errors were committed, so great misfortunes had followed on them; all these were imputed to the Prince's easiness, and to his favourite's ill management and bad designs: this drew a very heavy load on the Prince, and made his death to be the less lamented. The Queen was not only decently, but deeply affected with it.

The Earl of Pembroke was now advanced to the post of high-admiral; which he entered on with great uneasiness, and a just apprehension of the difficulty of maintaining it well in a time of war. He was, at that time, both lord president of the council, and lord lieutenant of Ireland. The Earl of Wharton had the government of Ireland, and the Lord Somers was made lord president of the council. The great capacity, and inflexible integrity of this Lord, would have made his promotion to this post very acceptable to the whigs, at any juncture, but it was most particularly so at this time; for it was expected that propositions for a general peace would be quickly made, and so they reckoned that the management of that, upon which not only the safety of the nation, but of all Europe depended, was in sure hands, when he was set at the head of the councils, upon whom neither ill practices, nor false colours, were like to make any impression; thus the minds of all those who were truly zealous for the present constitution, were much quieted by this promotion; though their jealousies had a deep root, and were not easily removed.

The parliament was opened in the middle of November, with great advantage; for the present ministry was now wholly such, that it gave an entire content to all who wished well to our affairs: and the great successes abroad silenced those who were otherwise disposed to find fault and to complain. The Queen did not think it decent for her to come to parliament during this whole session; so it was managed by a commission representing her person. Sir Richard Onslow was chosen speaker, without the least opposition: he was a worthy man, entirely zealous for the government; he was very acceptable to the whigs, and the

1708.

A new ministry.

A new parliament opened.

1703.



tories felt that they had so little strength in this parliament, that they resolved to lie silent, and to wait for such advantages as the circumstances of affairs might give them. In the House of Commons, the supplies that were demanded were granted very unanimously, not only for maintaining the force then on foot, but for an augmentation of ten thousand more: this was thought necessary to press the war with more force, as the surest way to bring on a speedy peace. The states agreed to the like augmentation on their side. The French, according to their usual vanity, gave out that they had great designs in view for the next campaign: and it was confidently spread about by the jacobites, that a new invasion was designed, both on Scotland and on Ireland. At the end of the campaign, Prince Eugene went to the court of Vienna, which obliged the Duke of Marlborough to stay on the other side till he returned. Things went on in both houses according to the directions given at court; for the court being now joined with the whigs, they had a clear majority in every thing. All elections were judged in favour of whigs and courtiers, but with so much partiality, that those who had formerly made loud complaints of the injustice of the Tories in determining elections, when they were a majority, were not so much as out of countenance when they were reproached for the same thing. They pretended they were in a state of war with the Tories, so that it was reasonable to retaliate this to them, on the account of their former proceedings; but this did not satisfy just and upright men, who would not do to others that which they complained of, when it was done to them or to their friends. The House of Commons voted a supply of 7,000,000*l.* for the service of the ensuing year; the land-tax, and the duty on malt, were readily agreed to; but it took some time to find funds for the rest, that they had voted.

1709.

Debates  
concerning  
the elections  
of the peers  
of Scotland.

A petition of a new nature was brought before the Lords, with relation to the election of the peers from Scotland. There was a return made in due form; but a petition was laid before the House in the name of four lords, who pretended that they ought to have been returned. The Duke of Queensberry had been created a Duke of Great Britain, by the title of Duke of Dover, yet he thought he had still a right to vote as a peer of Scotland: he had like-

1709.

wise a proxy, so that two votes depended on this point—whether the Scotch peerage did sink into the peerage of Great Britain. Some lords, who were prisoners in the castle of Edinburgh on suspicion as favouring the Pretender, had sent for the sheriff of Lothian to the castle, and had taken the oaths before him; and upon that were reckoned to be qualified to vote or make a proxy: now it was pretended, that the castle of Edinburgh was a constabulary, and was out of the sheriff's jurisdiction; and that, therefore, he could not legally tender them the oaths. Some proxies were signed, without subscribing witnesses, a form necessary by their law: other exceptions were also taken from some rules of the law of Scotland, which had not been observed. The clerks being also complained of, they were sent for, and were ordered to bring up with them all instruments or documents relating to the election; when they came up, and every thing was laid before the House of Lords, the whole matter was long and well debated.

As to the Duke of Queensberry's voting among the Scotch lords, it was said, that if a peer of Scotland, being made a peer of Great Britain, did still retain his interest in electing the sixteen from Scotland, this would create a great inequality among peers; some having a vote by representation, as well as in person: the precedent was mischievous, since by the creating some of the chief families in Scotland peers of Great Britain, they would be able to carry the whole election of the sixteen as they pleased. It was objected, that by a clause in the act passed since the union, the peers of England, who were likewise peers of Scotland, had a right to vote in the election of Scotland, still reserved to them, so there seemed to be a parity in this case with that: but it was answered, that a peer of England and a peer of Scotland held their dignity under two different crowns, and by different great seals: but Great Britain including Scotland as well as England, the Scotch peerage must now merge in that of Great Britain: besides that, there were but five who were peers of both kingdoms before the union; so that, as it might be reasonable to make provision for them, so was it of no great consequence: but if this precedent were allowed, it might go much further, and have very ill consequences. Upon a division of the

A Scotch  
peer created  
a peer of  
Great Britain  
was to  
have no  
vote there.



1709.



Other exceptions  
were determined.

House, the matter was determined against the Duke of Queensberry.

A great deal was said both at the bar by lawyers, and in the debate in the House, upon the point of jurisdiction, and of the exemption of a constabulary: it was said, that the Sheriff's Court ought to be, as all courts were, open and free; and so could not be held within a castle or prison: but no express decision had ever been made in this matter. The prisoners had taken the oaths, which was the chief intent of the law, in the best manner they could; so that it seemed not reasonable to cut them off from the main privilege of peerage, that was reserved to them, because they could not go abroad to the Sheriff's Court: after a long debate it was carried, that the oaths were duly tendered to them. Some other exceptions were proved and admitted, the returns of some, certifying that they had taken the oaths, were not sealed, and some had signed these without subscribing witnesses: other exceptions were offered from provisions the law of Scotland had made, with relation to bonds and other deeds, which had not been observed in making of proxies: but the House of Lords did not think these were of that importance as to vacate the proxies on that account. So, after a full hearing, and a debate that lasted many days, there was but one of the peers that was returned, who was found not duly elected, and only one of the petitioning lords was brought into the house; the Marquis of Annandale was received, and the Marquis of Lothian was set aside.

A faction  
among the  
Scots.

The Scotch members in both houses were divided into factions: the Duke of Queensberry had his party still depending on him; he was in such credit with the Lord Treasurer and the Queen, that all the posts in Scotland were given to persons recommended by him: the chief ministers at court seemed to have laid it down for a maxim, not to be departed from, to look carefully into elections in Scotland; that the members returned from thence might be in an entire dependence on them, and be either whigs or tories, as they should shift sides. The Duke of Queensberry was made third secretary of state; he had no foreign province assigned him, but Scotland was left to his management: the Dukes of Hamilton, Montrose, and Roxburgh, had set themselves in an opposition to his power, and had carried many elections against him: the Lord Somers and

Sunderland supported them, but could not prevail with the Lord Treasurer to bring them into an equal share of the administration ; this had almost occasioned a breach, for the whigs, though they went on in conjunction with the Lord Treasurer, yet continued still to be jealous of him.

Another act was brought in and passed in this session with relation to Scotland, which gave occasion to great and long debates ; what gave rise to it was this—upon the attempt made by the Pretender, many of the nobility and gentry of Scotland, who had all along attended to that interest, were secured ; and after the fleet was got back to Dunkirk, and the danger was over, they were ordered to be brought up prisoners to London ; when they came, there was no evidence at all against them, so they were dismissed, and sent back to Scotland. No exceptions could be taken to the securing them, while there was danger ; but since nothing besides presumptions lay against them, the bringing them up to London at such a charge, and under such a disgrace, was much censured, as an unreasonable and an unjust severity ; and was made use of, to give that nation a further aversion to the union. That whole matter was managed by the Scotch lords then in the ministry, by which they both revenged themselves on some of their enemies, and made a shew of zeal for the government ; though such as did not believe them sincere in these professions, thought it was done on design to exasperate the Scots the more, and so to dispose them to wish for another invasion. The whig ministry in England disowned all these proceedings, and used the Scots prisoners so well, that they went down much inclined to concur with them : but the Lord Godolphin fatally adhered to the Scotch ministers, and supported them, by which the advantage that might have been made from these severe proceedings was lost. But the chief occasion given to the act concerning treasons in Scotland, was from a trial of some gentlemen of that kingdom, who had left their houses, when the Pretender was on the sea, and had gone about armed, and in so secret and suspicious a manner that it gave great cause of jealousy ; there was no clear evidence to convict them, but there were very strong, if not violent presumptions against them : some forms in the trial had not been observed, which the criminal court judged were necessary, and not to be dispensed with ; but

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An act concerning trials of treasons in Scotland.

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the Queen's advocate, Sir James Stuart, was of another mind: the court thought it was necessary by their laws, that the names of the witnesses should have been signified to the prisoners fifteen days before their trial; but the Queen's advocate had not complied with this, as to the chief witnesses; so the court could not hear their evidence: he did not upon that move for a delay, so the trial went on, and the gentlemen were acquitted. Severe expostulations passed between the Queen's advocate and the court: they complained of one another to the Queen, and both sides justified their complaints in print. Upon this it appeared, that the laws in Scotland, concerning trials in cases of treason, were not fixed nor certain: so a bill was brought into the House of Commons to settle that matter; but it was so much opposed by the Scotch members that it was dropped in the committee: it was taken up and managed with more zeal by the Lords.

The heads  
of the act.

It consisted of three heads—all crimes, which were high treason by the law of England (and these only) were to be high treason in Scotland; the manner of proceeding settled in England was to be observed in Scotland; and the pains and forfeitures were to be the same in both nations. The Scotch lords opposed every branch of this act; they moved, that all things that were high treason by the law of England, might be enumerated in the act, for the information of the Scotch nation; otherwise they must study the book of statutes to know when they were safe, and when they were guilty. To this it was answered, that direction would be given to the judges, to publish an abstract of the law of high treason, which would be a sufficient information to the people of Scotland in this matter: that nation would by this means be in a much safer condition than they were now; for the laws they had, were conceived in such general words, that the judges might put such constructions on them, as should serve the ends of a bad court; but they would by this act be restrained in this matter for the future.

The forms  
of proceeding in Scot-  
land.

The second head in this bill occasioned a much longer debate; it changed the whole method of proceedings in Scotland: the former way there was, the Queen's advocate signed a citation of the persons, setting forth the special matter of high treason, of which they were accused; this was to be delivered to them, together with the names of



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the witnesses, fifteen days before the trial. When the jury was empannelled, no peremptory challenges were allowed; reasons were to be offered with every challenge, and if the court admitted them, they were to be proved immediately. Then the matter of the charge, which is there called the relevancy of the libel, was to be argued by lawyers, whether the matter, suppose it should be proved, did amount to high treason or not; this was to be determined by a sentence of the court, called the *interloquitur*: and the proof of the fact was not till then to be made: of that the jury had the cognizance. Antiently the verdict went with the majority, the number being fifteen; but by a late act, the verdict was to be given, upon the agreement of two third parts of the jury: in the sentence, the law did not limit the judges to a certain form, but they could aggravate the punishment, or moderate it, according to the circumstances of the case. All this method was to be set aside: a grand jury was to find the bill, the judges were only to regulate proceedings, and to declare what the law was; and the whole matter of the indictment was to be left entirely to the jury, who were to be twelve, and all to agree in their verdict.

In one particular, the forms in Scotland were much preferable to those in England: the depositions of the witnesses were taken indeed by word of mouth, but were writ out, and after that were signed by the witnesses: they were sent in to the jury; and these were made a part of the record. This was very slow and tedious, but the jury, by this means, was more certainly possessed of the evidence; and the matter was more clearly delivered down to posterity; whereas, the records in England are very defective, and give no light to a historian that peruses them, as I found when I wrote the *History of the Reformation*.

The Scotch opposed this alteration of their way of proceeding: they said, that neither the judges, the advocates, nor the clerks, would know how to manage a trial of treason: they insisted most on the having the names of the witnesses to be given to the persons some days before their trial. It seemed reasonable, that a man should know who was to be brought to witness against him, that so he might examine his life, and see what credit ought to be given to him: on the other hand it was said, this would open a door to much practice, either upon the witnesses to

Of the forfeitures in cases of treason.

corrupt them, or in suborning other witnesses to defame them. To this it was answered, that a guilty man knew what could be brought against him, and without such notice would take all the methods possible to defend himself: but provision ought to be made for innocent men, whose chief guilt might be a good estate, upon which a favourite might have an eye; and therefore such persons ought to be taken care of. This was afterwards so much softened, that it was only desired, that the names of the witnesses, that had given evidence to the grand jury, should, upon their finding the bill, be signified to the prisoner five days before his trial. Upon a division of the House on this question, the votes were equal; so by the rule of the House, that in such a case the negative prevails, it was lost. Upon the third head of the bill, the debates grew still warmer: in Scotland many families were settled by long entails and perpetuities; so it was said, that since, by one of the articles of the union, all private rights were still preserved, no breach could be made on these settlements. I carried this farther: I thought it was neither just nor reasonable to set the children on begging, for their father's faults: the Romans, during their liberty, never thought of carrying punishments so far: it was an invention, under the tyranny of the emperors, who had a particular revenue called the *fisc*; and all forfeitures were claimed by them, from whence they were called confiscations: it was never the practice of free governments: Bologna flourished beyond any town in the Pope's dominions, because they made it an article of their capitulation with the Pope, that no confiscation should follow on any crime whatsoever. In Holland, the confiscation was redeemable by so very small a sum as an hundred guilders. Many instances could be brought of prosecutions only to obtain the confiscation: but none of the Lords seconded me in this: it was acknowledged, that this was just and reasonable, and fit to be passed in good times; but since we were now exposed to so much danger from abroad, it did not seem advisable to abate the severity of the law; but clauses were agreed to, by which, upon marriages, settlements might be made in Scotland, as was practised in England; for no estate is forfeited for the crime of him who is only tenant for life. By this act also, tortures were condemned; and the Queen was empowered

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to grant commissions of oyer and terminer, as in England, for trying treasons: the Scots insisted on this, that the justiciary, or the criminal court, being preserved by an article of the union, this broke in upon that. It was answered, the criminal court was still to sit, in the times regulated: but these commissions were granted upon special occasions. In the intervals between the terms, it might be necessary, upon some emergency, not to delay trials too long: but to give some content, it was provided by a clause, that a judge of the criminal court should be always one of the quorum in these commissions: so the bill passed in the House of Lords, notwithstanding the opposition of all the Scotch lords, with whom many of the tories concurred; they being disposed to oppose the court in every thing, and to make treason as little to be dreaded as possible.

The bill met with the same opposition in the House of Commons: yet it passed with two amendments: by one, the names of the witnesses, that had appeared before the grand jury, were ordered to be sent to the prisoner ten days before his trial: the other was, that no estate in land was to be forfeited upon a judgment of high treason: this came up fully to the motion I had made. Both these amendments were looked on as such popular things, that it was not probable that the House of Commons would recede from them: upon that the whigs in the House of Lords did not think fit to oppose them, or to lose the bill: so it was moved to agree to these amendments, with this proviso, that they should not take place till after the death of the Pretender. It was said, that since he assumed the title of King of Great Britain, and had so lately attempted to invade us, it was not reasonable to lessen the punishment and the dread of treason as long as he lived. Others objected to this, that there would be still a pretender after him, since so many persons stood in the lineal descent before the house of Hanover; so that this proviso seemed to be, upon the matter, the rejecting the amendment: but it was observed, that to pretend to the right of succeeding was a different thing from assuming the title, and attempting an invasion. The amendment was received by the House of Lords with this proviso: those who were against the whole bill did not agree to it. The House of Commons consented to the proviso which the Lords had added to

Amend-  
ments to the  
act.



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It passed  
in both  
houses.

their amendment, with a farther addition, that it should not take place till three years after the house of Hanover should succeed to the crown.

This met with great opposition: it was considered as a distinguishing character of those who were for or against the present constitution and the succession; the Scots still opposing it on the account of their formal laws. Both parties mustered up their strength, and many who had gone into the country, were brought up on this occasion: so that the bill, with all the amendments and provisos, was carried by a small majority; the Lords agreeing to this new amendment. The Scotch members in both houses seemed to apprehend, that the bill would be very odious in their country; so, to maintain their interest at home, they, who were divided in every thing else, did agree in opposing this bill.

An act of  
grace.

The court apprehended, from the heat with which the debates were managed, and the difficulty in carrying the bill through both houses, that ill-disposed men would endeavour to possess people with apprehensions of bad designs and severities that would be set on foot; so they resolved to have an act of grace immediately upon it: it was the first the Queen had sent, though she had then reigned above seven years: the ministers, for their own sake, took care that it should be very full; it was indeed fuller than any former act of grace, all treasons committed before the signing the act, which was the 19th of April, were pardoned, those only excepted that were done upon the sea: by this, those who had embarked with the Pretender were still at mercy. This act, according to form, was read once in both houses, and with the usual compliments of thanks, and with that the session ended.

An enlarge-  
ment of the  
Bank.

Other things of great importance passed during this session. The House of Commons voted an enlargement of the Bank, almost to three millions, upon which the books were opened to receive new subscriptions; and, to the admiration of all Europe, as well as of ourselves at home, the whole sum was subscribed in a few hours' time: this shewed both the wealth of the nation, and the confidence that all people had in the government. By this subscription, and by a further prolongation of the general mortgage of the revenue, they created good funds for answer-

ing all the money that they had voted in the beginning of the session. 1709.

Our trade was now very high, and was carried on every where with advantage, but no where more than at Lisbon : for the Portuguese were so happy in their dominions in America, that they discovered vast quantities of gold in their mines, and we were assured, that they had brought home to Portugal the former year about four millions sterling, of which they at that time stood in great need, for they had a very bad harvest : but gold answers all things they were supplied from England with corn, and we had in return a large share of their gold. Great riches in Portugal.

An act passed in this session that was much desired, and had been often attempted, but had been laid aside in so many former parliaments, that there was scarce any hopes left to encourage a new attempt ; it was for naturalizing all foreign protestants, upon their taking the oaths to the government, and their receiving the sacrament in any protestant church. Those who were against the act soon perceived, that they could have no strength if they should set themselves directly to oppose it ; so they studied to limit strangers in the receiving the sacrament to the way of the church of England. This probably would not have hindered many, who were otherwise disposed to come among us : for the much greater part of the French came into the way of our church. But it was thought best to cast the door as wide open as possible, for encouraging of strangers : and, therefore, since, upon their first coming over, some might choose the way to which they had been accustomed beyond sea, it seemed the more inviting method to admit of all who were in any protestant communion : this was carried in the House of Commons with a great majority ; but all those who appeared for this large and comprehensive way, were reproached for their coldness and indifference in the concerns of the church : and in that I had a large share, as I spoke copiously for it when it was brought up to the Lords : the Bishop of Chester spoke as zealously against it, for he seemed resolved to distinguish himself as a zealot for that which was called high church. The bill passed with very little opposition. An act for a general naturalization of all protestants.

There was all this winter great talk of peace, which the miseries and necessity of France seemed to drive them An address to the Queen when a

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 treaty of  
 pence  
 should be  
 opened.

to: this gave occasion to a motion concerted among the whigs, and opened by the Lord Hallifax, that an address should be made to the Queen, to conclude no peace with France till they should disown the Pretender, and send him out of that kingdom, and till the protestant succession should be universally owned, and that a guarantee should be settled among the allies for securing it. None durst venture to oppose this, so it was easily agreed to and sent down to the House of Commons for their concurrence. They presently agreed to it, but added to it a matter of great importance, that the demolishing of Dunkirk should be likewise insisted on before any peace were concluded: so both houses carried this address to the Queen, who received and answered it very favourably. This was highly acceptable to the whole nation, and to all our allies. These were the most considerable transactions of this session of parliament, which was concluded on the 21st of April.

The convocation was put off by a prorogation.

The convocation was summoned, chosen, and returned as the parliament was: but it was too evident that the same ill temper that had appeared in former convocations did still prevail, though not with such a majority: when the day came in which it was to be opened, a writ was sent from the Queen to the Archbishop, ordering him to prorogue the convocation for some months; and, at the end of these, there came another writ ordering a further prorogation: so the convocation was not opened during this session of parliament: by this, a present stop was put to the factious temper of those who studied to recommend themselves by embroiling the church.

A faction among the clergy of Ireland.

It did not cure them; for they continued still, by libels and false stories, to animate their party: and so catching a thing is this turbulent spirit, when once it prevails among clergymen, that the same ill temper began to ferment and spread itself among the clergy of Ireland: none of those disputes had ever been thought of in that church formerly, as they had no records nor minutes of former convocations. The faction here in England found out proper instruments to set the same humour on foot during the Earl of Rochester's government, and, as was said, by his directions; and it being once set a-going, it went on by reason of the indolence of the succeeding governors: so the clergy were making the same bold claim there that had raised such dis-



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putes among us ; and upon that, the party here published those pretensions of theirs with their usual confidence, as founded on a clear possession and prescription ; and drew an argument from that to justify and support their own pretensions, though those in Ireland never dreamed of them till they had the pattern and encouragement from hence. This was received by the party with great triumph ; into such indirect practices do men's ill designs and animosities engage them : but though this whole matter was well detected and made appear, to their shame who had built so much upon it ; yet parties are never out of countenance, but when one artifice fails, they will lay out for another. The secret encouragement with which they did most effectually animate their party, was, that the Queen's heart was with them : and, that though the war, and the other circumstances of her affairs, obliged her at present to favour the moderate party, yet, as soon as a peace brought on a better settlement, they promised themselves all favour at her hands. It was not certain that they had then any ground for this, or that she herself, or any by her order, gave them these hopes ; but this is certain, that many things might have been done to extinguish those hopes which were not done ; so that they seemed to be left to please themselves with those expectations, which still kept life in their party ; and, indeed, it was but too visible, that the much greater part of the clergy were in a very ill temper, and under very bad influences ; enemies to the toleration and soured against the dissenters.

An ill temper among our clergy still kept up.

I now must relate the negotiations that the French set on foot for a peace. Soon after the battle of Ramillies, the Elector of Bavaria gave out hopes of a peace, and that the King of France would come to a treaty of partition ; that Spain and the West Indies should go to King Charles, if the dominions of Italy were given to King Philip. They hoped that England and the states would agree to this, as less concerned in Italy ; but they knew the court of Vienna would never hearken to it, for they valued the dominions in Italy, with the islands near them, much more than all the rest of the Spanish monarchy. But at the same time that Louis the Fourteenth was tempting us with the hopes of Spain and the West Indies, by a letter to the Pope, that King offered the dominions in Italy to King Charles. The parliament had always declared the ground of the war to be, the

Negotiations for peace.

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restoring the whole Spanish monarchy to the house of Austria, (which indeed the states had never done,) so the Duke of Marlborough could not hearken to this: he convinced the states of the treacherous designs of the court of France in this offer, and it was not entertained.

The court of Vienna was so alarmed at the inclinations some had expressed towards the entertaining this project, that this was believed to be the secret motive of the treaty the succeeding winter, for evacuating the Milanese, and of their persisting so obstinately, the summer after, in their designs upon Naples; for by this means they became masters of both. The French, being now reduced to great extremities by their constant ill success, and by the miseries of their people, resolved to try the states again; and when the Duke of Marlborough came over to England, Mr. Rouillé was sent to Holland, with general offers of peace, desiring them to propose what it was they insisted on: and he offered them as good a barrier for themselves as they could ask. The states, contrary to their expectation, resolved to adhere firmly to their confederates, and to enter into no separate treaty, but in conjunction with their allies: so, upon the Duke of Marlborough's return, they, with their allies, began to prepare preliminaries, to be first agreed to before a general treaty should be opened: they had been so well acquainted with the perfidious methods of the French court, when a treaty was once opened, to divide the allies, and to create jealousies among them, and had felt so sensibly the ill effects of this, both at Nimeguen and Ryswick, that they resolved to use all necessary precautions for the future; so preliminaries were prepared, and the Duke of Marlborough came over hither, to concert them with the ministry at home.

In this second absence of his, Mr. de Torcy, the secretary of state for foreign affairs, was sent to the Hague, the better to dispose the states to peace, by the influence of so great a minister; no methods were left untried, both with the states in general, and with every man they spoke with in particular, to beget in them a full assurance of the King's sincere intentions for peace: but they knew the artifices of that court too well to be soon deceived; so they made no advances till the Duke of Marlborough came back, who carried over the Lord Viscount Townshend, to be conjunct

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plenipotentiary with himself, reckoning the load too great to bear it wholly on himself. The choice was well made; for as Lord Townshend had great parts, had improved these by travelling, and was by much the most shining person of all our young nobility, and had, on many occasions, distinguished himself very eminently; so he was a man of great integrity, and of good principles in all respects, free from all vice, and of an engaging conversation.

The foundation of the whole treaty was, the restoring of the whole Spanish monarchy to King Charles, within two months: Torcy said, the time was too short, and that perhaps it was not in the King of France's power to bring that about; for the Spaniards seemed resolved to stick to King Philip. It was, upon this, insisted on, that the King of France should be obliged to concur with the allies, to force it by all proper methods: but this was not farther explained, for all the allies were well assured, that if it was sincerely intended by France, there would be no great difficulty in bringing it about. This, therefore, being laid down as the basis of the treaty, the other preliminaries related to the restoring all the places in the Netherlands, except Cambray and St. Omer; the demolishing or restoring of Dunkirk; the restoring of Strasburgh, Brisack, and Huningen to the empire; Newfoundland to England; and Savoy to that Duke, besides his continuing possessed of all he then had in his hands; the acknowledging the King of Prussia's royal dignity; and the electorate in the house of Brunswick; the sending the Pretender out of France, and the owning the succession to the crown of England, as it was settled by law. As all the great interests were provided for by these preliminaries; so all other matters were reserved to be considered, when the treaty of peace should be opened: a cessation of all hostilities was to begin within two months, and to continue till all was concluded by a complete treaty, and ratified; provided the Spanish monarchy was then entirely restored. The French plenipotentiaries seemed to be confounded at these demands. Torcy excepted to the leaving Exilles and Fenestrella in the Duke of Savoy's hands; for he said, he had no instructions relating to them: but in conclusion, they seemed to submit to them, and Torcy, at parting, desired the ratifications might be returned with all possible haste, and promised

The preliminaries  
agreed on.



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that the King of France's final answer should be sent by the 4th of June; but spoke of their affairs as a man in despair: he said, he did not know but he might find King Philip at Paris before he got thither, and said all that was possible, to assure them of the sincerity of the King of France, and to divert them from the thoughts of opening the campaign; but, at the same time, King Philip was getting his son, the Prince of Asturias, to be acknowledged by all the towns and bodies of Spain, as the heir of that monarchy.

The King  
of France  
refuses to  
ratify them.

Upon this outward appearance of agreeing to their preliminaries, all people looked upon the peace to be as good as made; and ratifications came from all the courts of the allies, but the King of France refused to agree to them: he pretended some exceptions to the articles relating to the Emperor, and the Duke of Savoy; but insisted chiefly on that, of not beginning the suspension of arms till the Spanish monarchy should be all restored: he said, that was not in his power to execute; he ordered his minister afterwards to yield up all but this last; and by a third person, one Pettecum, it was offered to put some more towns into the hands of the allies, to be kept by them till Spain was restored. It appeared by this, that the French had no other design in all this negotiation, but to try if they could beget an ill understanding among the allies, or, by the seeming great concessions for the security of the states, provoke the people of Holland against their magistrates, if they should carry on the war when they seemed to be safe; and they reckoned, if a suspension of arms could be once obtained, upon any other terms than the restoring of Spain, then France would get out of the war, and the allies must try how they could conquer Spain. France had so perfidiously broke all their treaties during this King's reign, that it was a piece of inexcusable folly to expect any other from them. In the peace of the Pyrenees, where the interest of France was not so deeply engaged, to preserve Portugal from falling under the yoke of Castille, as it was now to preserve Spain in the hands of a grandson; after the King had sworn to give no assistance to Portugal, yet, under the pretence of breaking some bodies, he suffered them to be entertained by the Portuguese ambassador, and sent Schomberg to command that army; pretending he could

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not hinder one, that was a German by birth, to go and serve where he pleased: under these pretences, he had broke his faith, where the consideration was not so strong as in the present case. Thus it was visible, no faith that King could give, was to be relied on, and that unless Spain was restored, all would prove a fatal delusion: besides, it came afterwards to be known, that the places in Brabant and Hainault, commanded by the Elector of Bavaria, would not have been evacuated by him, unless he had orders for it from the King of Spain, under whom he governed in them; and that was not to be expected: so the easiness with which the French ministers yielded to the preliminaries, was now understood to be an artifice, to slacken the zeal of the confederates in advancing the campaign, as the least effect it would have: but in that their hopes failed them, for there was no time lost in preparing to take the field.

I do not mix, with the relation that I have given upon good authority, the uncertain reports we had of distractions in the court of France, where it was said, that the Duke of Burgundy pressed the making a peace, as necessary to prevent the ruin of France, while the Dauphin pressed more vehemently the continuance of the war, and the supporting of the King of Spain: it was said, that Madame Maintenon, appeared less at court: Chamillard, who had most of her favour, was dismissed: but it is not certain, what influence that had on the public councils; and the conduct of this whole negotiation shewed plainly, that there was nothing designed in it, but to divide, or to deceive the confederates; and, if possible, to gain a separate peace for France; and then to let the allies conquer Spain as they could. But the allies kept firm to one another; and the treachery of the French appeared so visible, even to the people in Holland, that all the hopes they had of inflaming them against their magistrates likewise failed. The people in France were much wrought on by this pretended indignity offered to their monarch, to oblige him to force his grandson to abandon Spain; and even here in England, there wanted not many, who said it was a cruel hardship put on the French King, to force him into such an unnatural war: but if he was guilty of the injustice of putting him in possession of that kingdom, it was but a reasonable piece of justice

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to undo what he himself had done ; and it was so visible that King Philip was maintained on that throne by the councils and assistance of France, that no doubt was made, but that, if the King of France had really designed it, he could easily have obliged him to relinquish all pretensions to that crown.

The war  
went on,

Thus the negotiations came soon to an end, without producing any ill effect among the allies ; and all the ministers at the Hague made great acknowledgments to the pensioner Heinsius, and to the states, for the candour and firmness they had expressed on that occasion. The miseries of France were represented, from all parts, as extremely great : the prospect both for corn and wine was so low, that they saw no hope nor relief. They sent to all places for corn to preserve their people ; many of the ships that brought it to them, were taken by our men of war ; but this did not touch the heart of their King, who seemed to have hardened himself against the sense of the miseries of his people. Villars was sent to command the armies in Flanders, of whom the King of France said, that he was never beaten ; Harcourt was sent to command on the Rhine, and the Duke of Berwick in Dauphiny. This summer passed over without any considerable action in

In Portugal, Spain. There was an engagement on the frontier of Portugal, in which the Portuguese behaved themselves very ill, and were beaten ; but the Spaniards did not pursue the advantage they had by this action : for they, apprehending that our fleet might have a design upon some part of their southern coast, were forced to draw their troops from the frontiers of Portugal, to defend their own coast, though we gave them no disturbance on that side.

In Spain, The King of France, to carry on the shew of a design for peace, withdrew his troops out of Spain, but at the same time took care to encourage the Spanish grandees to support his grandson : and since it was visible, that either the Spaniards or the allies were to be deceived by him, it was much more reasonable to believe that the allies, and not the Spaniards, were to feel the effects of this fraudulent way of proceeding. The French general, Besons, who commanded in Arragon, had indeed orders not to venture on a battle, for that would have been too gross a thing to be in any wise palliated ; but he continued all this summer



commanding their armies. Nothing of any importance passed on the side of Dauphiny: the Emperor continued still to refuse complying with the Duke of Savoy's demands; so he would not make the campaign in person, and his troops kept on the defensive. On the other hand, the French, as they saw they were to be feebly attacked, were too weak to do any thing more than cover their own country. Little was expected on the Rhine; the Germans were so weak, so ill furnished, and so ill paid, that it was not easy for the court of Vienna to prevail on the Elector of Brunswick to undertake the command of that army; yet he came at last: and upon his coming, the French, who had passed the Rhine, thought it was safest for them to repass that river, and to keep within their lines. The Elector sent Count Mercy, with a considerable body, to pass the Rhine near Basil, and on design to break into Franche Comté; but a detached body of the French lying in their way, there followed a very sharp engagement; two thousand men were reckoned to be killed on each side; but though the loss of men was reckoned equal, yet the design miscarried, and the Germans were forced to repass the Rhine. The rest of the campaign went over there without any action.

The chief scene was in Flanders; where the Duke of Marlborough, trusting little to the shews of peace, had every thing in readiness to open the campaign, as soon as he saw what might be expected from the court of France. The army was formed near Lisle, and the French lay near Doway; the train of artillery was, by a feint, brought up the Lys to Courtray; so it was believed the design was upon Ypres, and there being no apprehension of any attempt on Tournay, no particular care was taken of it; but it was on the sudden invested, and the train was sent back to Ghent, and brought up the Scheld to Tournay. The siege was carried on regularly: no disturbance was given to the works by sallies, so the town capitulated within a month, the garrison being allowed to retire into the citadel, which was counted one of the strongest in Europe, not only fortified with the utmost exactness, but all the ground was wrought into mines; so that the resistance of the garrison was not so much apprehended, as the mischief they might do by blowing up their mines. A capitulation was

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In Dau-  
phiny,

In Germany,

And in  
Flanders.Tournay is  
besieged and  
taken.

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proposed, for delivering it up on the 5th of September, if it should not be relieved sooner, and that all hostilities should cease till then. This was offered by the garrison, and agreed to by the Duke of Marlborough; but the King of France would not consent to it, unless there were a general suspension, by the whole army, of all hostilities; and that being rejected, the siege went on. Many men were lost in it, but the proceeding by sap prevented much mischief; in the end no relief came, and the garrison capitulated in the beginning of September, but could obtain no better conditions than to be made prisoners of war.

After this siege was over, Mons was invested, and the troops marched thither as soon as they had levelled their trenches about Tournay; but the court of France resolved to venture a battle, rather than to look on, and see so important a place taken from them. Boufflers was sent from court to join with Villars in the execution of this design. They possessed themselves of a wood, and entrenched themselves so strongly, that in some places there were three entrenchments cast up, one within another. The Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene saw plainly it was not possible to carry on the siege of Mons, while the French army lay so near it; so it was necessary to dislodge them. The attempt was bold, and they saw the execution would be difficult, and cost them many men. This

The battle of  
Blarignics.

was the sharpest action in the whole war, and lasted the longest. The French were posted so advantageously, that our men were oft repulsed; and indeed the French maintained their ground better, and shewed more courage, than appeared in the whole course of the war; yet, in conclusion, they were driven from all their posts, and the action ended in a complete victory. The number of slain was almost equal on both sides, about twelve thousand of a side. We took five hundred officers prisoners, besides many cannon, standards, and ensigns. Villars was disabled by some wounds he received, so Boufflers made the retreat in good order. The military men have always talked of this as the sharpest action in the whole war, not without reflecting on the generals for beginning so desperate an attack. The French thought it a sort of a victory, that they had animated their men to fight so well behind entrenchments, and to repulse our men so often, and with

so great loss. They retired to Valenciennes, and secured themselves by casting up strong lines, while they left our army to carry on the siege of Mons, without giving them the least disturbance. As soon as the train of artillery was brought from Brussels, the siege was carried on with great vigour, though the season was both cold and rainy. The outworks were carried with little resistance, and Mons capitulated about the end of October; with that the campaign ended, both armies retiring into winter quarters.

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Mons besieged and taken.

The most important thing that relates to Italy, was, that the Pope delayed acknowledging King Charles, by several pretended difficulties; his design being to stay and see the issue of the campaign; but when he was threatened, towards the end of it, that if it was not done, the imperial army should come and take up their winter quarters in the ecclesiastical state, he submitted, and acknowledged him. He sent also his nephew, Albano, first to Vienna, and then to Poland; he furnished him with a magnificent retinue, and seemed to hope, that by the services he should do to the papal interests there, he should be pressed to make him a cardinal, notwithstanding the bull against nepotism.

Affairs in Italy.

In Catalonia, Stahremberg, after he received reinforcements from Italy, advanced towards the Segra, and having for some days amused the enemy, he passed the river: the Spaniards designed to give him battle; but Besons, who commanded the French troops, refused to engage: this provoked the Spaniards so much, that King Philip thought it was necessary to leave Madrid, and go to the army: Besons produced his orders from the King of France to avoid all engagements, with which he seemed much mortified. Stahremberg advanced and took Balaguer, and made the garrison prisoners of war; and with that the campaign on that side was at an end.

Affairs in Spain.

This summer brought a catastrophe on the affairs of the King of Sweden. He resolved to invade Muscovy, and engaged himself so far into the Ukrain, that there was no possibility of his retreating, or of having reinforcements brought him: he engaged a great body of Cossacks to join him, who were easily drawn to revolt from the Czar: he met with great misfortunes in the end of the former year, but nothing could divert him from his designs against Muscovy: he passed the Nieper, and besieged Pultowa:

The King of Sweden's defeat.



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The King  
flies into  
Turkey.

the Czar marched to raise the siege, with an army in number much superior to the Swedes; but the King of Sweden resolved to venture on a battle, in which he received such a total defeat, that he lost his camp, his artillery, and baggage. A great part of his army got off; but being closely pursued by the Muscovites, and having neither bread nor ammunition, they were all made prisoners of war.

The King himself, with a small number about him, passed the Nieper, and got into the Turkish dominions, and settled at Bender, a town in Moldavia. Upon this great reverse of his affairs, King Augustus pretended, that the resignation of the crown of Poland was extorted from him by force, and that it was not in his power to resign the crown, by which he was tied to the republic of Poland, without their consent; so he marched into Poland, and Stanislaus was not able to make any resistance, but continued under the protection of the Swedes, waiting for another reverse of fortune. A project was formed to engage the Kings of Denmark and Prussia, with King Augustus and the Czar, to attack the Swedes in so many different places, that the extravagant humour of their King was now like to draw a heavy storm upon them; if England and the states, with the court of Vienna, had not crushed all this, and entered into a guarantee for preserving the peace of the empire, and by consequence of the Swedish dominions in Germany. Dantzic was at this time severely visited with a plague, which swept away almost one half of their inhabitants, though few of the better sort died of the infection: this put their neighbours under great apprehensions; they feared the spreading of the contagion; but it pleased God it went no farther. This sudden, and, as it seemed, total reverse of all the designs of the King of Sweden, who had been for many years the terror of all his neighbours, made me write to Dr. Robinson, who had lived above thirty years in that court, and is now bishop of Bristol, for a particular character of that king. I shall set it down in his own words:—

His character.

He is now in the 28th year of his age, tall and slender, stoops a little, and in his walking discovers, though in no great degree, the effect of breaking his thigh-bone about eight years ago: he is of a very vigorous and healthy constitution, takes a pleasure in enduring the greatest fatigues,

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and is little curious about his repose: his chief and almost only exercise has been riding, in which he has been extremely excessive: he usually eats with a good appetite, especially in the morning, which is the best of his three meals: he never drinks any thing but small beer, and is not much concerned whether it be good or bad: he speaks little, is very thoughtful, and is observed to mind nothing so much as his own affairs, laying his designs, and contriving the ways of acting, without communicating them to any, till they are to be put in execution: he holds few or no councils of war: and though in civil affairs his ministers have leave to explain their thoughts, and are heard very patiently; yet he relies more on his own judgment than on theirs, and frequently falls on such methods as are farthest from their thoughts: so that both his ministers and generals have hitherto had the glory of obedience, without either the praise or blame of having advised prudently or otherwise. The reason of his reservedness in consulting others, may be thus accounted for: he came, at the age of fifteen, to succeed in an absolute monarchy, and by the forward zeal of the states of the kingdom, was in a few months declared to be of age: there were those about him that magnified his understanding as much as his authority, and insinuated that he neither needed advice, nor could submit his affairs to the deliberation of others, without some diminution of his own supreme power. These impressions had not all their effect till after the war was begun; in the course of which, he surmounted so many impossibilities (as those about him thought them), that he came to have less value for their judgments, and more for his own, and at last to think nothing impossible. So it may be truly said, that, under God, as well all his glorious successes, as the late fatal reverse of them, have been owing solely to his own conduct. As to his piety, it cannot be said but that the outward appearances have highly recommended it; only it is not very easy to account for the excess of his revenge against King Augustus, and some other instances; but he is not suspected of any bodily indulgences. It is most certain he has all along wished well to the allies, and not at all to France, which he never intended to serve by any steps he has made. We hear the Turks use him well, but time must shew what use they will make of him, and how he will get back into his own king-

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Affairs in  
Denmark.

dom. If this misfortune does not quite ruin him, it may temper his fire, and then he may become one of the greatest princes of the age. Thus I leave him and his character.

The King of Denmark spent a great part of this summer in a very expensive course of travelling through the courts of Germany and Italy; and it was believed he intended to go to Rome, where great preparations were making for giving him a splendid reception; for it was given out that he intended to change his religion: but whether these reports were altogether groundless, or whether their being so commonly believed, was like to produce some disorders in his own kingdom, is not certainly known; only thus much is certain, that he stopped at Florence, and went no further, but returned home: and, upon the King of Sweden's misfortunes, entered into measures to attack Sweden, with King Augustus; who had called a diet in Poland, in which he was acknowledged their king, and all things were settled there according to his wishes. The King of Denmark, upon his return home, sent an army over the Sound into Schonen; but his councils were so weak, and so ill conducted, that he did not send a train of artillery, with other necessities, after them. Some places, that were not tenable, were yielded up by the Swedes; and by the progress that he made at first, he seemed to be in a fair way of recovering that province: but the Swedes brought an army together, though far inferior to the Danes in number, and falling on them, gave them such an entire defeat, that the King of Denmark was forced to bring back, as well as he could, the broken remnants of his army, by which an end was put to that inglorious expedition.

The Swedish army, that was in Poland, having got into Pomerania, the French studied to engage them to fall into Saxony, to embroil the affairs of Germany, and by that means engage the neighbouring princes to recal the troops that were in the Queen's service, and that of the other allies in Flanders; but the Queen and the states interposed effectually in this matter, and the Swedes were so sensible how much they might need their protection, that they acquiesced in the propositions that were made to them; so the peace of the northern parts of the empire was secured. A peace was likewise made up between the Grand Seignior and the Czar. The King of Sweden continued still at Ben-



der; the war in Hungary went still on. The court of Vienna published ample relations of the great successes they had there; but an Hungarian assured me, these were given out to make the malecontents seem an inconsiderable and ruined party. There were secret negotiations still going on, but without effect.

Nothing of importance passed on the sea. The French put out no fleet, and our convoys were so well ordered, and so happy, that our merchants made no complaints. Towards the end of the year, the Earl of Pembroke found the care of the fleet a load too heavy for him to bear, and that he could not discharge it as it ought to be done; so he desired leave to lay it down. It was offered to the Earl of Orford; but, though he was willing to serve at the head of a commission, he refused to accept of it singly; so it was put in commission, in which he was the first.

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Our fleet  
well con-  
ducted.

I now come to give an account of the session of parliament, that came on this winter. All the supplies that were asked for carrying on the war were granted, and put on good funds; in this there was a general unanimous concurrence: but the great business of this session, that took up most of their time, and that had great effects in conclusion, related to Dr. Sacheverel: this being one of the most extraordinary transactions in my time, I will relate it very copiously. Dr. Sacheverel was a bold, insolent man, with a very small measure of religion, virtue, learning, or good sense, but he resolved to force himself into popularity and preferment, by the most petulant railings at dissenters and low churchmen, in several sermons and libels, wrote without either chasteness of style, or liveliness of expression: all was one unpractised strain of indecent and scurrilous language. When he had pursued this method for several years without effect, he was at last brought up by a popular election to a church in Southwark, where he began to make great reflections on the ministry, representing that the church was in danger, being neglected by those who governed, while they favoured her most inveterate enemies. At the assizes in Derby (where he preached before the judges,) and on the 5th of November, (preaching at St. Paul's, in London,) he gave a full vent to his fury, in the most virulent declamation that he could contrive, upon these words of St. Paul, "perils from false brethren:" in

A session of  
parliament.

Sacheverel's  
sermon.

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which, after some short reflections upon popery, he let himself loose into such indecencies, that both the man and the sermon were universally condemned: he asserted the doctrine of non-resistance in the highest strain possible, and said, that to charge the Revolution with resistance, was to cast black and odious imputations on it; pretending, that the late King had disowned it, and cited, for the proof of that, some words in his declaration, by which he vindicated himself from a design of conquest. He poured out much scorn and scurrility on the dissenters, and reflected severely on the toleration; and said the church was violently attacked by her enemies, and loosely defended by her pretended friends: he animated the people to stand up for the defence of the church, for which he said he sounded the trumpet, and desired them to put on the whole armour of God. The court of aldermen refused to desire him to print his sermon; but he did print it, pretending it was upon the desire of Garrard, then lord mayor, to whom he dedicated it, with an inflaming epistle at the head of it. The party that opposed the ministry did so magnify the sermon, that, as was generally reckoned, about forty thousand of them were printed, and dispersed over the nation. The Queen seemed highly offended at it, and the ministry looked on it as an attack made on them, that was not to be despised. The Lord Treasurer was so described, that it was next to naming him, so a parliamentary impeachment was resolved on: Eyre, then solicitor-general, and others, thought the short way of burning the sermon, and keeping him in prison during the session, was the better method; but the more solemn way was unhappily chosen.

Many books  
wrote  
against the  
Queen's  
title.

There had been, ever since the Queen came to the crown, an open revival of the doctrine of passive obedience and non-resistance, by one Lesley, who was the first man that began the war in Ireland; saying, in a speech solemnly made, that King James, by declaring himself a papist, could no longer be our king, since he could not be a defender of our faith, nor the head of our church, dignities so inherent in the crown, that he, who was incapable of these, could not hold it: a copy of which speech, the present Archbishop of Dublin told me he had, under his own hand. As he animated the people with his speech, so some actions followed under his conduct, in which several men

were killed; yet this man changed sides quickly, and became the violentest jacobite in the nation, and was engaged in many plots, and in writing many books against the Revolution, and the present government. Soon after the Queen was on the throne, he, or his son as some said, published a series of weekly papers under the title of *The Rehearsal*, pursuing a thread of arguments in them all, against the lawfulness of resistance, in any case whatsoever; deriving government wholly from God, denying all right in the people, either to confer or to coerce it: the ministers connived at this; with what intention God knows.

Whilst their seditious papers had a free course for many years, and were much spread and magnified; one Hoadly, a pious and judicious divine, being called to preach before the Lord Mayor, chose for his text the first verses of the thirteenth chapter to the Romans, and fairly explained the words there, that they were to be understood only against resisting good governors, upon the Jewish principles; but, that those words had no relation to bad and cruel governors: and he asserted, that it was not only lawful, but a duty incumbent on all men to resist such; concluding all with a vindication of the Revolution, and the present government. Upon this, a great outcry was raised, as if he had preached up rebellion; several books were wrote against him, and he justified himself, with a visible superiority of argument, to them all; and did so solidly overthrow the conceit of one Filmer, now espoused by Lesley (that government was derived by primogeniture from the first patriarchs), that for some time he silenced his adversaries: but it was an easier thing to keep up a clamour, than to write a solid answer. Sacheverel did, with great virulence, reflect on him, and on me, and several other bishops, carrying his venom as far back as to Archbishop Grindal, whom, for his moderation, he called a perfidious prelate, and a false son of the church. When it was moved to impeach him, the Lord Mayor of London, being a member of the House of Commons, was examined to this point, whether the sermon was printed at his desire or order; upon his owning it, he would have been expelled the House; but he denied he had given any such order, though Sacheverel affirmed it, and brought witnesses to prove it: yet the House would not enter upon that examination; but

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Dr. Hoadly's writings  
in defence  
thereof.



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Sacheverel  
was im-  
peached by  
the House  
of Com-  
mons.

it was thought more decent to seem to give credit to their own member, though indeed few believed him.

Some opposition was made to the motion, for impeaching Sacheverel, but it was carried by a great majority: the proceedings were slow; so those, who intended to inflame the city and the nation upon that occasion, had time sufficient given them for laying their designs: they gave it out boldly, and in all places, that a design was formed by the whigs to pull down the church, and that this prosecution was only set on foot to try their strength; and that, upon their success in it, they would proceed more openly. Though this was all falsehood and forgery, yet it was propagated with so much application and zeal, and the tools employed in it were so well supplied with money, (from whom was not then known) that it is scarce credible how generally it was believed.

Some things concurred to put the vulgar in ill humour; it was a time of dearth and scarcity, so that the poor were much pinched: the summer before, ten or twelve thousand poor people of the Palatinate, who were reduced to great misery, came into England; they were well received and supplied, both by the Queen, and by the voluntary charities of good people: this filled our own poor with great indignation; who thought those charities, to which they had a better right, were thus intercepted by strangers; and all who were ill affected, studied to heighten these their resentments. The clergy did generally espouse Sacheverel, as their champion, who had stood in the breach; and so they reckoned his cause was their own. Many sermons were preached, both in London and in other places, to provoke the people, in which they succeeded beyond expectation. Some accidents concurred to delay the proceedings; much time was spent in preparing the articles of impeachment: and the answer was, by many shifts, long delayed: it was bold, without either submission or common respect; he justified every thing in his sermon, in a very haughty and assuming style. In conclusion, the Lords ordered the trial to be at the bar of their House; but those who found, that by gaining more time, the people were still more inflamed, moved that the trial might be public in Westminster Hall; where the whole House of Commons might be present: this took so with unthinking people, that it could not be

withstood, though the effects it would have, were well foreseen: the preparing Westminster Hall was a work of some weeks.

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At last, on the 27th of February, the trial begun. Sacheverel was lodged in the Temple, and came every day, with great solemnity, in a coach to the Hall; great crowds ran about his coach with many shouts, expressing their concern for him in a very rude and tumultuous manner. The trial lasted three weeks, in which all other business was at a stand; for this took up all men's thoughts: the managers for the Commons opened the matter very solemnly: their performances were much and justly commended: Jekyll, Eyre, Stanhope, King, but above all Parker, distinguished themselves in a very particular manner: they did copiously justify both the Revolution, and the present administration. There was no need of witnesses; for the sermon being owned by him, all the evidence was brought from it, by laying his words together, and by shewing his intent and meaning in them, which appeared from comparing one place with another. When his counsel, Sir Simon Harcourt, Dodd, Phipps, and two others, came to plead for him, they very freely acknowledged the lawfulness of resistance in extreme cases, and plainly justified the Revolution, and our deliverance by King William: but they said, it was not fit, in a sermon, to name such an exception; that the duties of morality ought to be delivered in their full extent, without supposing an extraordinary case; and, therefore, Sacheverel had followed precedents set by our greatest divines, ever since the Reformation, and ever since the Revolution. Upon this they opened a great field: they began with the declarations made in King Henry the Eighth's time; they insisted next upon the homilies, and from thence instanced, in a large series of bishops and divines, who had preached the duty of submission and non-resistance, in very full terms, without supposing any exception; some excluding all exceptions in as positive a manner as he had done: they explained the word revolution as belonging to the new settlement upon King James's withdrawing; though, in the common acceptation, it was understood of the whole transaction, from the landing of the Dutch army, till the settlement made by the convention. So they understanding the Re-

And tried in  
Westminster Hall.

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volution in that sense, there was, indeed, no resistance there: if the passage, quoted from the declaration, given out by the late King, while he was Prince of Orange, did not come up to that for which he quoted it; he ought not to be censured because his quotation did not fully prove his point. As for his invective against the dissenters and the toleration, they laboured to turn that off, by saying, he did not reflect on what was allowed by law, but on the permission of, or the not punishing, many who published impious and blasphemous books; and a collection was made of passages in books, full of crude impiety and of bold opinions. This gave great offence to many, who thought that this was a solemn publishing of so much impiety to the nation, by which more mischief would be done, than by the books themselves: for most of them had been neglected, and known only to a small number of those who encouraged them; and the authors of many of these books had been prosecuted and punished for them. As to those parts of the sermon that set out the danger the church was in, though both houses had, some years ago, voted it a great offence to say it was in danger, they said it might have been in none four years ago, when these votes passed, and yet be now in danger: the greatest of all dangers was to be apprehended from the wrath of God for such impieties. They said, the reflections on the administration was not meant of those employed immediately by the Queen, but of men in inferior posts: if his words seemed capable of a bad sense, they were also capable of a more innocent one; and every man was allowed to put any construction on his words that they could bear. When the counsel had ended their defence, Sacheverel concluded it with a speech, which he read with much bold heat; in which, with many solemn asseverations, he justified his intentions towards the Queen and her government; he spoke with respect both of the Revolution and the protestant succession; he insisted most on condemning all resistance, under any pretence whatsoever, without mentioning the exception of extreme necessity, as his counsel had done: he said, it was the doctrine of the church in which he was bred up, and added many pathetical expressions, to move the audience to compassion. This had a great effect on the weaker sort, while it possessed those, who knew the man



and his ordinary discourses, with horror, when they heard him affirm so many falsehoods, with such solemn appeals to God. It was very plain the speech was made for him by others; for the style was correct, and far different from his own.

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During the trial, the multitudes that followed him, all the way as he came, and as he went back, shewed a great concern for him, pressing about him and striving to kiss his hand: money was thrown among them; and they were animated to such a pitch of fury, that they went to pull down some meeting-houses, which was executed on five of them, as far as burning all the pews in them. This was directed by some of better fashion, who followed the mob in hackney-coaches, and were seen sending messages to them: the word, upon which all shouted, was "the church and Sacheverel;" and such as joined not in the shout were insulted and knocked down;—before my own door, one with a spade cleft the skull of another, who would not shout as they did. There happened to be a meeting-house near me, out of which they drew every thing that was in it, and burned it before the door of the house. They threatened to do the like execution on my house; but the noise of the riot coming to court, orders were sent to the guards to go about and disperse the multitudes, and secure the public peace. As the guards advanced, the people ran away; some few were only taken; these were afterwards prosecuted; but the party shewed a violent concern for them; two of them were condemned as guilty of high treason; small fines were set on the rest; but no execution followed; and, after some months, they were pardoned: and, indeed, this remissness in punishing so great a disorder, was looked on as the preparing and encouraging men to new tumults. There was a secret management in this matter that amazed all people; for though the Queen, upon an address made to her by the House of Commons, set out a proclamation, in which this riot was, with severe words, laid upon papists and non-jurors, who were certainly the chief promoters of it; yet the proceedings afterwards did not answer the threatenings of the proclamation.

A great disorder at that time.

When Sacheverel had ended his defence, the managers for the House of Commons replied, and shewed very evi-

Continuation of the trial.

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Sir John  
Holt's death  
and charac-  
ter.

Parker  
made lord  
chief jus-  
tice.

Debates in  
the House of  
Lords after  
the trial.

dently, that the words of his sermon could not reasonably bear any other sense, but that for which they had charged him: this was an easy performance, and they managed it with great life; but the humour of the town was turned against them, and all the clergy appeared for Sacheverel. Many of the Queen's chaplains stood about him, encouraging and magnifying him; and it was given out, that the Queen herself favoured him; though, upon my first coming to town, which was after the impeachment was brought up to the Lords, she said to me, that it was a bad sermon, and that he deserved well to be punished for it. All her ministers, who were in the House of Commons, were named to be managers, and they spoke very zealously for public liberty, justifying the Revolution. Holt, the lord chief justice of the King's Bench, died during the trial: he was very learned in the law, and had, upon great occasions, shewed an intrepid zeal in asserting its authority: for he ventured on the indignation of both houses of parliament by turns, when he thought the law was with him: he was a man of good judgment and great integrity, and set himself with great application to the functions of that important post. Immediately upon his death, Parker was made lord chief justice: this great promotion seemed an evident demonstration of the Queen's approving the prosecution; for none of the managers had treated Sacheverel so severely as he had done; yet secret whispers were very confidently set about, that though the Queen's affairs put her on acting the part of one that was pleased with this scene, yet she disliked it all, and would take the first occasion to shew it.

After the trial was ended, the debate was taken up in the House of Lords: it stuck long on the first article: none pretended to justify the sermon, or to assert absolute non-resistance: all who favoured him went upon this that the duty of obedience ought to be delivered in full and general words, without putting in exceptions, or supposing odious cases; this had been the method of all our divines. Pains were also taken to shew, that his sermon did not reflect on the Revolution: on the other hand, it was said, that since the Revolution had happened so lately, and was made still the subject of much controversy, those absolute expressions did plainly condemn it. The Revolution was the whole progress of the turn, from the Prince of Orange's landing,

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till the act of settlement passed. The act of parliament expressed what was meant by the abdication and the vacancy of the throne; that it did not only relate to King James's withdrawing himself, but to his ceasing to govern according to our constitution and laws, setting up his mere will and pleasure as the measure of his government; this was made plainer by another clause in the acts then passed, which provided, that if any of our princes should become papists, or marry papists, the subjects were, in those cases, declared to be free from their allegiance. Some of the bishops spoke in this debate on each side; Hooper, Bishop of Bath and Wells, spoke in excuse of Sacheverel: but Talbot, Bishop of Oxford; Wake, Bishop of Lincoln; Trimmel, Bishop of Norwich, and myself, spoke on the other side. We shewed the falsehood of an opinion too commonly received, that the church of England had always condemned resistance, even in the cases of extreme tyranny. The books of the Maccabees, bound in our Bibles, and approved by our articles, (as containing examples of life and instruction of manners, though not as any part of the canon of the Scripture) contained a full and clear precedent for resisting and shaking off extreme tyranny: the Jews, under that brave family, not only defended themselves against Antiochus, but formed themselves into a free and new government. Our homilies were only against wilful rebellion, such as had been then against our kings, while they were governing by law: but at that very time, Queen Elizabeth had assisted, first the Scots, and then the French, and to the end of her days continued to protect the states, who not only resisted, but, as the Maccabees had done, shook off the Spanish yoke, and set up a new form of government: in all this she was not only justified by the best writers of that time, such as Jewel and Bilson, but was approved and supported in it: both her parliaments and convocations gave her subsidies to carry on those wars. The same principles were kept up all King James's reign: in the beginning of King Charles's reign, he protected the Rochellers, and asked supplies from the parliament, to enable him to do it effectually; and ordered a fast and prayers to be made for them. It is true, soon after that new notions of absolute power, derived from God to kings, were taken up; at the first rise given to these by Manwaring,



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they were condemned by a sentence of the Lords; and though he submitted, and retracted his opinion, yet a severe censure passed upon him: but during the long discontinuance of parliaments that followed, this doctrine was more favoured; it was generally preached up, and many things were done pursuant to it, which put the nation into the great convulsions that followed in our civil wars. After these were over, it was natural to return to the other extreme, as courts naturally favour such doctrines. King James trusted too much to it; yet the very assertors of that doctrine were the first who pleaded for resistance, when they thought they needed it. Here was matter for a long debate: it was carried by a majority of seventeen, that the first article was proved. The party that was for Sacheverel, made no opposition to the votes upon the following articles; but contented themselves with protesting against them: the Lords went down to the Hall, where the question being put upon the whole impeachment, "guilty or not guilty," fifty-two voted him not guilty, and sixty-nine voted him guilty.

He is censured very gently.

The next debate was, what censure ought to pass upon him: and here a strange turn appeared; some seemed to apprehend the effects of a popular fury, if the censure was severe; to others it was said, that the Queen desired it might be mild; so it was proposed to suspend him from preaching for one year; others were for six years; but by a vote it was fixed to three years. It was next moved, that he should be incapable of all preferment for those three years; upon that, the house was divided—fifty-nine were for the vote, and sixty were against it; so that being laid aside, the sermon was ordered to be burnt, in the presence of the Lord Mayor, and the Sheriffs of London, and this was done; only the Lord Mayor, being a member of the House of Commons, did not think he was bound to be present. The Lords also voted, that the decrees of the University of Oxford, passed in 1683, in which the absolute authority of princes, and the unalterableness of the hereditary right of succeeding to the crown, were asserted in a very high strain, should be burnt with Sacheverel's sermon: the House of Commons likewise ordered the impious collection of blasphemous expressions, that Sacheverel had printed as his justification, to be also burnt.

When this mild judgment was given, those, who had sup-

ported him during the trial, expressed an inconceivable gladness, as if they had got a victory; bonfires, illuminations, and other marks of joy appeared, not only in London, but over the whole kingdom.

This had yet greater effects: addresses were set on foot, from all the parts of the nation, in which the absolute power of our princes was asserted, and all resistance was condemned, under the designation of antimonarchial and republican principles; the Queen's hereditary right was acknowledged, and yet a zeal for the protestant succession was likewise pretended, to make those addresses pass the more easily with unthinking multitudes: most of these concluded, with an intimation of their hopes, that the Queen would dissolve the present parliament, giving assurances, that in a new election, they would choose none, but such as should be faithful to the crown, and zealous for the church: these were at first more coldly received; for the Queen either made no answer at all, or made them in very general words. Addresses were brought up on the other hand, magnifying the conduct of the parliament, and expressing a zeal for maintaining the Revolution and the protestant succession.

In the beginning of April, the parliament was prorogued; and the Queen, in her speech thereupon, expressed her concern, that there was cause given for that, which had taken up so much of their time, wishing that all her people would be quiet, and mind their own business; adding, that in all times there was too much occasion given to complain of impiety, but that she would continue that zeal, which she had hitherto expressed, for religion, and for the church: this seemed to look a different way from the whispers that had been set about. Soon after that, she made a step that revived them again: the Duke of Shrewsbury had gone out of England in the end of the former reign, thinking, as he gave out, that a warmer climate was necessary for his health: he staid several years at Rome, where he became acquainted with a Roman lady; and she, upon his leaving Rome to return to England, went after him to Augsburg, where she overtook him, and declared herself a protestant; upon which he married her there, and came with her back to England, in the year 1706. Upon his return, the whigs lived in civilities with him; but they thought his leaving

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Addresses  
against the  
parliament.

The Queen's  
speech.

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~  
 Duke of  
 Shrewsbury  
 made lord  
 chamber-  
 lain.

England, and his living so long out of it, while we were in so much danger at home, and his strange marriage, gave just cause of suspicion. The Duke of Marlborough, and the Lord Godolphin, lived still in friendships with him, and studied to overcome the jealousies that the whigs had of him; for they generally believed, that he had advised the late King to the change he made in his ministry, towards the end of his reign. He seemed not to be concerned at the distance in which he was kept from business, but in the late trial, he left the whigs in every vote; and a few days after the parliament was prorogued, the Queen, without communicating the matter to any of her ministers, took the chamberlain's white staff from the Marquis of Kent, (whom, in recompense for that, she advanced to be a duke) and gave it to the Duke of Shrewsbury. This gave a great alarm; for it was upon that concluded, that a total change of the ministry would quickly follow; the change of principles, that he had discovered in the trial, was imputed to a secret management between him and Harley, with the new favourite. The Queen's inclination to her, and her alienation from the Dutchess of Marlborough, did increase, and broke out in many little things, not worth naming: upon that, the Dutchess retired from the court, and appeared no more at it. The Duke of Shrewsbury gave the ministers very positive assurances, that his principles were the same they had been during the last reign, and were in no respect altered: upon which, he desired to enter into confidences with them; but there was now too much ground given for suspicion.

The Queen  
 was spoke  
 to with great  
 freedom.

During this winter, I was encouraged by the Queen to speak more freely to her of her affairs than I had ever ventured to do formerly: I told her what reports were secretly spread of her through the nation, as if she favoured the design of bringing the Pretender to succeed to the crown, upon a bargain that she should hold it during her life. I was sure these reports were spread about by persons who were in the confidence of those that were believed to know her mind; I was well assured that the jacobites of Scotland had, upon her coming to the crown, sent up one Ogilby, of Boyne, who was in great esteem among them, to propose the bargain to her; he, when he went back, gave the party full assurances that she accepted of



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it: this I had from some of the lords of Scotland, who were then in the secret with the professed jacobites. The Earl of Cromarty made a speech in parliament, as was formerly mentioned, contradicting this, and alluding to the distinction of the Calvinists, made between the secret and the revealed will of God; he assured them, the Queen had no secret will contrary to that which she declared: yet at the same time his brother gave the party assurances to the contrary. I told the Queen all this; and said, if she was capable of making such a bargain for herself, by which her people were to be delivered up and sacrificed after her death, as it would darken all the glory of her reign, so it must set all her people to consider of the most proper ways of securing themselves, by bringing over the protestant successors; in which, I told her plainly, I would concur, if she did not take effectual means to extinguish those jealousies. I told her, her ministers had served her with that fidelity, and such success, that her making a change among them would amaze all the world. The glory of Queen Elizabeth's reign arose from the firmness of her counsels, and the continuance of her ministers, as the three last reigns, in which the ministry was often changed, had suffered extremely by it. I also shewed her, that if she suffered the Pretender's party to prepare the nation for his succeeding her, she ought not to imagine, that when they thought they had fixed that matter, they would stay for the natural end of her life; but that they would find ways to shorten it: nor did I think it was to be doubted, but that, in 1708, when the Pretender was upon the sea, they had laid some assassins here; who, upon the news of his landing, would have tried to dispatch her. It was certain, that their interest led them to it, as it was known that their principles did allow of it: this, with a great deal more to the same purpose, I laid before the Queen; she heard me patiently; she was for the most part silent: yet, by what she said, she seemed desirous to make me think she agreed to what I laid before her; but I found afterwards it had no effect upon her: yet I had great quiet in my own mind, since I had, with an honest freedom, made the best use I could of the access I had to her.

The Duke of Marlborough went beyond sea in February, to prepare all matters for an early campaign, de-

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Doway be-  
sieged and  
taken.

signing to open it in April, which was done. The French had wrought so long upon their lines, that it was thought they would have taken as much care in maintaining them; but upon the advance of our army they abandoned them; and though they seemed resolved to make a stand upon the scarp, yet they ran from that likewise; and this opened the way all on to Doway: so that was invested. The garrison was eight thousand strong, well furnished with every thing necessary to make a brave defence: the besieged sallied out often, sometimes with advantage, but much oftener with loss: it was the middle of May before the French could bring their army together. It appeared, that they resolved to stand upon the defensive, though they had brought up together a vast army of two hundred battalions, and three hundred squadrons: they lay before Arras, and advanced to the plains of Lens; Villars commanded, and made such speeches to his army, that it was generally believed, he would venture on a battle rather than look on and see Doway lost. The Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene posted their army so advantageously, both to cover the siege, and to receive the enemy, that he durst not attack them; but after he had looked on a few days, in which the two armies were not above a league distant, he drew off; so the siege going on, and no relief appearing, both Doway and the Fort Escarp capitulated on the 14th of June.

The History  
continued to  
the peace.

I have now completed my first design in writing, which was to give a history of our affairs for fifty years, from the 29th of May, 1660: so if I confined myself to that, I should here give over; but the war seeming now to be near an end, and the peace, in which it must end, being that which will probably give a new settlement to all Europe, as well as to our affairs, I resolve to carry on this work to the conclusion of the war: and therefore I begin with the progress of the negotiations for peace, which seemed now to be prosecuted with warmth.

Negotia-  
tions for a  
peace.

All the former winter an intercourse of letters was kept up between Pettecum and Torcy, to try if an expedient could be found to soften that article, for the reduction of Spain to the obedience of King Charles; which was the thirty-seventh article of the preliminaries: it still was kept in agitation upon the foot of offering three towns to be

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put into the hands of the allies, to be restored by them when the affairs of Spain should be settled; otherwise to be still retained by them: the meaning of which was no other, than that France was willing to lose three more towns, in case King Philip should keep Spain and the West Indies; the places, therefore, ought to have borne some equality to that for which they were to be given in pawn; but the answers the French made to every proposition, shewed they meant nothing but to amuse and distract the allies. The first demand the allies made, was of the places in Spain, then in the hands of the King of France; for the delivering up these, might have been a good step to the reduction of the whole; but this was flatly refused: and, that the King of France might put it out of his power to treat about it, he ordered his troops to be drawn out of all the strong places in Spain, and soon after out of that kingdom, pretending he was thereby evacuating it; though the French forces were kept still in the neighbourhood: so a shew was made of leaving Spain to defend itself; and upon that, King Philip prevailed on the Spaniards to make great efforts beyond what was ever expected of them; this was done by the French King to deceive both the allies and his own subjects, who were calling loudly for a peace: and it likewise eased him of a great part of the charge that Spain had put him to: but while his troops were called out of that kingdom, as many deserted, by a visible connivance, as made up several battalions; and all the Walloon regiments, as being subjects of Spain, were sent thither: so that King Philip was not weakened by the recalling the French troops; and by this means the places in Spain could not be any more demanded. The next, as most important towards the reduction of Spain, was the demand that Bayonne and Perpignan might be put into the hands of the allies, with Thionville on the side of the empire. By the two former, all communication between France and Spain would be cut off, and the allies would be enabled to send forces thither, with less expense and trouble; but it was said, these were the keys of France which the King could not part with; so it remained to treat of towns on the frontier of the Netherlands; and even there they excepted Doway, Arras, and Cambrai; so that all their offers appeared illusory; and the intercourse by



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letters was for some time let fall; but in the end of the former year, Torcy wrote to Pettecum, to desire either that passes might be granted to some ministers to come to Holland, to go on with the negotiation, or that Pettecum might be suffered to go to Paris, to see if an expedient could be found: and the states consented to the last. In the meanwhile, King Philip published a manifesto, protesting against all that should be transacted at the Hague to his prejudice; declaring his resolution to adhere to his faithful Spaniards: he also named plenipotentiaries, to go in his name to the treaty, who gave the states notice of their powers and instructions; and, in a letter to the Duke of Marlborough, they gave intimations how grateful King Philip would be to him, if by his means, these his desires might be complied with; as the like insinuations had been often made by the French agents: but no notice was taken of this message from King Philip, nor was any answer given to it. Pettecum, after some days' stay at Paris, came back without the pretence of offering any expedient, but brought a paper that seemed to set aside the preliminaries: yet it set forth, that the King was willing to treat on the foundation of the concessions made in them to the allies; and that the execution of all the articles should begin after the ratification. This destroyed all that had been hitherto done; and the distinction the King had formerly made between the spirit and the letter of the partition treaty, shewed how little he was to be relied on: so the states resolved to insist both on the preliminaries and on the execution of them, before a general treaty should be opened. By this message, all thoughts of a treaty were at a full stand. In the beginning of February, another project was sent, which was an amplification of that brought by Pettecum; only the restoring the two Electors was insisted on as a preliminary, as also the restoring the Upper Palatinate to the Elector of Bavaria; but the allies still insisted on the former preliminaries. The court of France, seeing that the states were not to be wrought on, to go off from the preliminaries, sent another message to them, that the King agreed to all the preliminaries, except the thirty-seventh; and if they would consent that his ministers should come and confer with them upon that article, he did not doubt, but what should be proposed from him, would be to their satisfaction. This seemed to

give some hopes, so the states resolved to send the passports; but they foresaw the ill effects of suffering the French ministers to come into their country, who, by their agents, were every where stirring up the people against the government, as if they were prolonging the war without necessity; so they appointed Gertruydenburgh to be the place to which the French ministers were to come, to treat with the deputies they should send to meet them.

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The ministers sent by France, were the Marquis d'Uxelles and the Abbot de Polignac; and those from the states were Buys and Vanderdussen: the conferences began in March. The French proposed, that the dominions in Italy, with the islands, should be given to one of the competitors for the Spanish monarchy, without naming which; but it was understood that they meant King Philip: the deputies did not absolutely reject this; but shewed that the Emperor would never consent to parting with Naples, nor giving the French such footing in Italy: the French seemed to be sensible of this: the first conference ended upon the return of the courier, whom they sent to Versailles. They moved for another conference; and upon several propositions, there were several conferences renewed. The King of France desisted from the demand of Naples, but insisted on that of the places on the coast of Tuscany: at last they desisted from that too, and insisted only on Sicily and Sardinia: so now the partition seemed as it were settled: upon which, the deputies of the states pressed the ministers of France to give them solid assurances of King Philip's quitting Spain and the West Indies; to this (upon advertisement given to the court of France) they answered, that the King would enter into measures with them to force it. Many difficulties were started about the troops to be employed, what their number should be, and who should command them; all which shewed the execution would prove impracticable. Then they talked of a sum of money, to be paid annually during the war; and here new difficulties arose, both in settling the sum, and in securing the payment: they offered the bankers of Paris; but these must all break, whensoever the King had a mind they should: so it plainly appeared, all was intended only to divide the allies, by this offer of a partition, to which the states consented; and at which, the French hoped the house of Austria would have

Conferences  
at Gertruy-  
denburgh.

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been provoked against them. The French asked an assurance of the deputies, that no other articles should be insisted on, but those in the preliminaries: this the deputies positively refused; for they had, by one of the preliminaries, reserved a power to all the allies to make farther demands when a general treaty should be opened; they said, they themselves would demand no more, but they could not limit the rest from their just demands. This was another artifice to provoke the empire and the Duke of Savoy, as if the states intended to force them to accept of such a peace as they should prescribe: in another conference, the states rejected the offer of a sum of money for carrying on the war in Spain, and therefore demanded that the French would explain themselves upon the subject of evacuating Spain and the West Indies, in favour of King Charles, before they could declare their intentions with relation to the partition; and added, that all further conferences would be to no purpose till that was done.

All came to  
no conclu-  
sion.

The French were now resolved to break off the negotiation; and so they were pleased to call this demand of the states a formal rupture of the treaty; and upon the return of an express that they sent to Versailles, they wrote a long letter to the pensioner, in the form of a manifesto; and so returned back to France in the end of July. This is the account that both our ministers here and the states have published of that affair: the French have published nothing; for they would not own to the Spaniards that they ever entered upon any treaty for a partition of their monarchy, much less for evacuating Spain. Whether France did ever design any thing by all this negotiation, but to quiet their own people, and to amuse and divide the allies, is yet to us a secret; but if they ever intended a peace, the reason of their going off from it, must have been the account they then had of our distractions in England, which might make them conclude that we could not be in a condition to carry on the war.

A change of  
the ministry  
in England.

The Queen's intentions to make a change in her ministry now began to break out: in June she dismissed the Earl of Sunderland from being secretary of state, without pretending any malversation in him, and gave the seals to the Lord Dartmouth. This gave the alarm both at home and abroad; but the Queen to lessen that, said to her subjects



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here, in particular to the governors of the Bank of England, and wrote to her ministers abroad, that they should assure her allies that she would make no other changes; and said this herself to the minister whom the states had here: all these concurred to express their joy in this resolution, and joined to it their advice that she would not dissolve the parliament. This was represented by those who had never been versed in the negotiations of princes in an alliance, as a bold intruding into the Queen's councils; though nothing is more common than for princes to offer mutual advices in such cases. Two months after the change of the secretary of state, the Queen dismissed the Earl of Godolphin from being lord treasurer, and put the Treasury in commission: Lord Powlet was the first in form, but Mr. Harley was the person with whom the secret was lodged; and it was visible he was the chief minister: and now it appeared that a total change of the ministry, and the dissolution of the parliament, were resolved on.

In the meanwhile, Sacheverel, being presented to a benefice in North Wales, went down to take possession of it; as he passed through the counties, both going and coming, he was received and followed by such numbers, and entertained with such magnificence, that our princes in their progresses have not been more run after than he was: great fury and violence appeared on many occasions, though care was taken to give his followers no sort of provocation; he was looked on as the champion of the church; and he shewed as much insolence on that occasion as his party did folly. No notice was taken by the government of all these riots; they were rather favoured and encouraged than checked; all this was like a prelude to a greater scene that was to be acted at court. The Queen came in October to council, and called for a proclamation dissolving the parliament, which Harcourt (now made attorney-general, in the room of Montague, who had quitted that post,) had prepared: when it was read, the Lord Chancellor offered to speak; but the Queen rose up, and would admit of no debate, and ordered the writs for a new parliament to be prepared. At that time she dismissed the Lord Somers, and in his room made the Earl of Rochester lord president of the council: she sent to the Duke of Devonshire for the lord steward's staff, and gave it to the Duke of

Sacheverel's  
progress to  
Wales.

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Buckingham; Mr. Boyle was dismissed from being secretary of state, and Mr. St. John had the seals; the Earl of Derby was removed from being chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, and was succeeded by the Lord Berkeley. The Lord Chancellor came, upon all these removes, and delivered up the great seal; the Queen did not look for this, and was surprised at it; and, not knowing how to dispose of it, she, with an unusual earnestness, pressed him to keep it one day longer; and the day following, she, having considered the matter with her favourites, Mrs. Masham and Mr. Harley, received it very readily; and it was soon given to Sir Simon Harcourt. The Earl of Wharton delivered up his commission of lord lieutenant of Ireland; and that was given to the Duke of Ormond: and the Earl of Orford, with some of the commissioners of the Admiralty, withdrew from that board, in whose room others were put. So sudden and so entire a change of the ministry is scarce to be found in our history, especially where men of great abilities had served, both with zeal and success; insomuch, that the administration of all affairs, at home and abroad, in their hands, was not only without exception, but had raised the admiration of all Europe. All this rose purely from the great credit of the new favourites, and the Queen's personal distaste to the old ones. The Queen was much delighted with all these changes, and seemed to think she was freed from the chains the old ministry held her in; she spoke of it to several persons as a captivity she had been long under. The Duke of Somerset had very much alienated the Queen from the old ministry, and had no small share in their disgrace; but he was so displeased with the dissolution of the parliament, and the new model of the ministry, that though he continued some time master of the horse, he refused to sit any more in council, and complained openly of the artifices that had been used to make him instrumental to other people's designs, which he did among others to myself.

The elections of parliament men.

The next, and indeed the greatest care of the new ministry, was the managing the elections to parliament. Unheard-of methods were used to secure them; in London, and in all the parts of England, but more remarkably in the great cities, there was a vast concourse of rude multitudes brought together, who behaved themselves in so boisterous

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a manner, that it was not safe, and in many places not possible, for those who had a right to vote, to come and give their votes for a whig; open violence was used in several parts: this was so general through the whole kingdom, all at the same time, that it was visible the thing had been for some time concerted, and the proper methods and tools had been prepared for it. The clergy had a great share in this; for besides a course for some months of inflaming sermons, they went about from house to house, pressing their people to shew, on this great occasion, their zeal for the church, and now or never to save it: they also told them in what ill hands the Queen had been kept, as in captivity, and that it was a charity, as well as their duty, to free her from the power the late ministry exercised over her.

While the poll was taken in London, a new commission for the lieutenancy of the city was sent in, by which a great change was made; tories were put in, and whigs were left out; in a word, the practice and violence used now in elections went far beyond any thing that I had ever known in England; and, by such means, above three parts in four of the members returned to parliament, may at any time be packed: and, if free elections are necessary to the being of a parliament, there was great reason to doubt if this was a true representative duly elected.

The Bank was the body to which the government of late had recourse, and was always readily furnished by it; but their credit was now so sunk that they could not do as they had done formerly; actions, that some months before were at 130, sunk now so low as to 95, and did not rise above 101 or 102 all the following winter. The new ministers gave it out, that they would act moderately at home, and steadily abroad, maintain our alliances, and carry on the war. But before I enter on the session of parliament, I will give account of affairs abroad.

King Philip went to Arragon to his army, and gave it out that he was resolved to put all to the decision of a battle with King Charles, who was likewise come to head his army; they lay so near one another, that King Philip cannonaded the camp of his enemies, but his men were beat off with loss, and drew away to a greater distance: however, before the end of July, there was an action of great importance near Almanara: the main body of King

A sinking of credit.

Affairs in Spain.



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Philip's horse designed to cut off a part of King Charles's foot that was separated from the cavalry, commanded by Stanhope: he drew his whole body together; and though he was much inferior in number, yet he sent to King Charles for orders to engage the enemy. It was not without some difficulty, and after some reiterated pressing instances, that he got leave to fall on.

The battle  
of Almanara.

As the two bodies were advancing one against another, Stanhope rode at the head of his body, and the Spanish general advanced at the head of his troops: the two generals began the action; in which, very happily for Stanhope, he killed the Spaniard; and his men, animated with the example and success of their general, fell on and broke the Spanish horse so entirely, that King Philip lost the best part of his cavalry in that action: upon which he retired towards Saragossa; but was closely followed by King Charles: and on the 20th of August, they came to a total engagement, which ended in an entire defeat; and by this means Arragon was again in King Charles's hands. King Philip got off with a very small body to Madrid. But he soon left it, and retired, with all the tribunals following him; to Valladolid, and sent his Queen and son to Victoria. Some of his troops got off in small bodies, and these were in a little time brought together, to the number of about ten thousand men; the troops, that they had on the frontier of Portugal, were brought to join them, with which they soon made up the face of an army.

King  
Charles at  
Madrid.

King Charles made all the haste he could to Madrid, but found none of the grandees there; and it appeared, that the Castilians were firmly united to King Philip, and resolved to adhere to him at all hazards. The King of France now shewed he was resolved to maintain his grandson, since, if he had ever intended to do it, it was now very easy to oblige him to evacuate Spain. On the contrary, he sent the Duke of Vendome to command the army there; and he ordered some troops to march into Catalonia, to force King Charles to come back, and secure that principality. King Charles continued till the beginning of December in Castille. In all that time, no care was taken by the allies, to supply or support him: we were so engaged in our party matters at home, that we seemed to take no thought of things abroad, and without us nothing could be

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done. The court of Vienna was so apprehensive of the danger from a war, like to break out, between the Grand Seignior and the Czar, that they would not diminish their army in Hungary. After King Charles left his army, Stahremberg seemed resolved to take his winter quarters in Castille, and made a shew of fortifying Toledo; but for want of provision, and chiefly for fear that his retreat to Arragon might be cut off, he resolved to march back to the Ebro; King Philip marched after him. Stahremberg left Stanhope some hours' march behind him, and he took up his quarters in an unfortified village, called Brihuega; but finding King Philip was near him, he sent his aide-de-camp to let Stahremberg know his danger, and to desire his assistance. Stahremberg might have come in time to have saved him, but he moved so slowly, that it was conjectured he envied the glory Stanhope had got, and was not sorry to see it eclipsed; and therefore made not that haste he might and ought to have done.

Stanhope and his men cast up entrenchments, and defended these very bravely, as long as their powder lasted; but in conclusion, they were forced to surrender themselves prisoners of war: some hours after that, Stahremberg came up, and though the enemy were more than double his number, yet he attacked them with such success, that he defeated them quite, killed seven thousand of their men, took their cannon and baggage, and staid a whole day in the field of battle. The enemy drew back; but Stahremberg had suffered so much in the action, that he was not in a condition to pursue them, nor could he carry off their cannon for want of horses; but he nailed them up, and by slow marches got to Saragossa, the enemy not thinking it convenient to give him any disturbance. As he did not judge it safe to stay long in Arragon, so in the beginning of January he marched into Catalonia; but his army had suffered so much, both in the last action at Villa Viciosa, and in the march, that he was not in a condition to venture on raising the siege of Gironne, which was then carried on by the Duke of Noailles; and no relief coming, the garrison, after a brave defence, was forced to capitulate; and by this means Catalonia was open to the enemy on all sides.

The battle  
of Villa Vi-  
ciosa.

The Spanish grandes seemed to be in some apprehensions of their being given up by the French; and there

The dis-  
grace of the

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Duke of Medina Celi.

was a suspicion of some caballing among them: upon which the Duke of Medina Celi, King Philip's chief minister, was sent a close prisoner to the Castle of Segovia, and was kept there very strictly, none being admitted to speak to him: he was not brought to any examination, but after he had been for some months in prison, being often removed from one place to another, it was at last given out, that he died in prison, not without the suspicion of ill practices. Nothing passed on the side of Piedmont; the Duke of Savoy complaining still of the imperial court, and upon that refusing to act vigorously.

Bethune, Aire, and St. Venant are taken.

After Doway was taken, our army sat down before Bethune; and that siege held them a month, at the end of which the garrison capitulated; and our army sat down at one and the same time before Ayre and St. Venant, to secure the head of the Lys. St. Venant was taken in a few weeks; but the marshy ground about Aire, made that a slower work: so that the siege continued there about two months before the garrison capitulated. This campaign, though not of such lustre as the former, because no battle was fought, yet was by military men looked on as a very extraordinary one in this respect, that our men were about an hundred and fifty days in open trenches; which was said to be a thing without example. During these sieges, the French army posted themselves in sure camps; but did not stir out of them; and it was not possible to engage them into any action. Nothing considerable passed on the Rhine, they being equally unable to enter upon action on both sides.

Affairs in the north.

The Czar carried on the war in Livonia with such success, that he took both Riga and Revel; and to add to the miseries of Sweden, a great plague swept away many of their people. Sweden itself was left exposed to the Danes and the Czar; but their dominions in Germany were secured by the guarantee of the allies: yet, though the government of Sweden did accept of this provisionally, till the King's pleasure should be known, it was not without difficulty that he was prevailed on to give way to it.

The new parliament opened.

I come now to give an account of the session of parliament, which was opened the 25th of November: the Queen, in her speech, took no notice of the successes of this campaign, as she had always done in her former speeches; and



instead of promising to maintain the toleration, she said she would maintain the indulgence granted by law to scrupulous consciences: this change of phrase into Sacheverel's language was much observed. The Lords made an address of an odd composition to her, which shewed it was not drawn by those who had penned their former addresses: instead of promising that they would do all that was possible, they only promised to do all that was reasonable, which seemed to import a limitation, as if they had apprehended that unreasonable things might be asked of them; and the conclusion was in a very cold strain of rhetoric; they ended with saying, "they had no more to add." The Commons were more hearty in their address; and in the end of it, they reflected on some late practices against the church and state. Bromley was chosen speaker without any opposition; there were few whigs returned, against whom petitions were not offered; there were in all about an hundred; and by the first steps, the majority made it appear, that they intended to clear the House of all who were suspected to be whigs. They passed the bill for four shillings in the pound, before the short recess at Christmas.

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During that time, the news came of the ill success in Spain; and this giving a handle to examine into that part of our conduct, the Queen was advised to lay hold on it; so, without staying till she heard from her own ministers or her allies, as was usual, she laid the matter before the parliament, as the public news brought it from Paris; which was afterwards found to be false in many particulars; and told them what orders she had given upon it, of which she hoped they would approve. This was a mean expression from the sovereign, not used in former messages; and seemed to be below the dignity of the crown. She ordered some regiments to be carried over to Spain, and named the Earl of Peterborough to go to the court of Vienna, to press them to join in the most effectual measures for supporting King Charles there. The Lords, in their answer to this message, promised that they would examine into the conduct of the war in Spain, to see if there had been any mismanagement in any part of it; and they entered immediately into that inquiry. They began it with an address to the Queen, to delay the dispatch of the Earl

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The conduct  
in Spain  
censured by  
the Lords.

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of Peterborough, till the House might receive from him such informations of the affairs of Spain, as he could give them. This was readily granted, and he gave the House a long recital of the affairs of Spain, loading the Earl of Gallway with all the miscarriages in that war. And in particular he said, that in a council of war in Valencia, in the middle of January 1706-7, the Earl of Gallway had pressed the pushing an offensive war for that year; and that the Lord Tyrawly and Stanhope had concurred with him in that: whereas he himself was for lying on a defensive war for that year in Spain: he said, this resolution was carried by those three, against the King of Spain's own mind; and he imputed all the misfortunes that followed in Spain to this resolution so taken. Stanhope had given an account of the debates in that council to the Queen; and the Earl of Sunderland, in answer to his letter, had wrote by the Queen's order, that she approved of their pressing for an offensive war; and they were ordered to persist in that. The Earl of Sunderland said, in that letter, that the Queen took notice, that they three (meaning the Earl of Gallway, Lord Tyrawly, and Stanhope) were the only persons that were for acting offensively; and that little regard was to be had to the Earl of Peterborough's opposition. Upon the strength of this letter, the Earl of Peterborough affirmed, that the whole council of war was against an offensive war: he laid the blame, not only of the battle of Almanza, and all that followed in Spain upon those resolutions, but likewise the miscarriage of the design on Toulon; for he told them of a great design he had concerted with the Duke of Savoy, and of the use that might have been-made of some of the troops in Spain, if a defensive war had been agreed to there. The Earl of Gallway and the Lord Tyrawly were sent for; and they were asked an account of that council at Valencia: they said, there were many councils held there about that time; and that both the Portuguese ambassador and general, and the envoy of the states, agreed with them in their opinions for an offensive war; and they named some Spaniards that were of the same mind: they also said, that all along, even to the battle of Almanza, in all their resolutions, the majority of the council of war voted for every thing that was done, and that they were directed to persist in their opinions, by

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letters wrote to them, in the Queen's name, by the secretaries of state: that as to the words, in the Earl of Sunderland's letter, that spoke of them, as the only persons that were of that opinion; these were understood by them, as belonging only to the Queen's subjects, and that they related more immediately to the Earl of Peterborough, who opposed that resolution, but not to the rest of the council of war; for the majority of them was of their mind.

The Earl of Gallway gave in two papers; the one related to his own conduct in Spain; the other was an answer to the relation given in writing by the Earl of Peterborough. The House of Lords was so disposed, that the majority believed every thing that was said by the Earl of Peterborough; and it was carried, that his account was honourable, faithful, and just; and that all the misfortunes in Spain were the effect and consequence of those resolutions taken in the middle of January.

From this censure on the Earl of Gallway, the debate was carried to that, which was chiefly aimed at, to put a censure on the ministry here. So it was moved, that an address should be made to the Queen, to free those who were under an oath of secrecy from that tie, that a full account might be laid before the House of all their consultations: the Queen granted this readily; and came to the House, which was understood to be on design to favour that which was aimed at. Upon this the Duke of Marlborough, the Earls of Godolphin and Sunderland, and the Lord Cowper shewed, that, considering the force sent over to Spain under the Lord Rivers, they thought an offensive war was advisable; that the expense of that war was so great, and the prospect was so promising, that they could not but think an offensive war necessary; and that to advise a defensive one, would have made them liable to a just censure, as designing to protract the war. The design on Toulon was no way intermixed with the affairs of Spain; the Earl of Peterborough fancied he was in that secret, and had indeed proposed the bringing over some troops from Spain on that design, and had offered a scheme to the Duke of Savoy, in which that was mentioned, and had sent that over to England. But though the Duke of Savoy suffered that Lord to amuse himself with his own project, which he



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had concerted for the attempt on Toulon; that Duke had declared he would not undertake it, if it was not managed with the utmost secrecy, which was sacredly kept, and communicated only to those to whom it must be trusted for the execution of it. No troops from Spain were to be employed in that service, nor did it miscarry for want of men. The lords farther said, they gave their opinions in council according to the best of their judgments; their intentions were very sincere for the service of the Queen, and to bring the war to a speedy conclusion. Yet a vote passed, that they were to blame for advising an offensive war in Spain, upon which the loss of the battle of Almanza followed; and that this occasioned the miscarrying of the design upon Toulon.

Reflections  
made on it.

Here was a new and strange precedent, of censuring a resolution taken in council; and of desiring the Queen to order all, that had passed in council, to be laid before the House: in all the hot debates in King Charles the First's reign, in which many resolutions taken in council were justly censurable, yet the passing any censure on them was never attempted by men, who were no way partial in favour of the prerogative: but they understood well what our constitution was in that point: a resolution in council was only the sovereign's act, who, upon hearing his counsellors deliver their opinions, forms his own resolution: a counsellor may indeed be liable to censure for what he may say at that board; but the resolution taken there has been hitherto treated with a silent respect: but by this precedent, it will be hereafter subject to a parliamentary inquiry. The Queen was so desirous to have a censure fixed on her former ministry, that she did not enough consider the wound given to the prerogative, by the way in which it was done.

After this was over, another inquiry was made into the force we had in Spain at the time of the battle of Almanza; and it was found not to exceed fourteen thousand men, though the parliament had voted twenty-nine thousand for the war in Spain. This seemed to be a crying thing; tragical declamations were made upon it; but in truth that vote had passed here only in the January before the battle of Almanza, which was fought on the 14th of April. Now it was not possible to levy and transport men

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in so short a time : it was made appear, that all the money given by the parliament for that service was issued out and applied to it, and that extraordinary diligence was used both in forwarding the levies and in their transportation : they were sent from Ireland, the passage from thence being both safest and quickest. All this, and a great deal more to the same purpose, was said : but it signified nothing ; for when resolutions are taken up beforehand, the debating concerning them is only a piece of form, used to come at the question with some decency : and there was so little of that observed at this time, that the Duke of Buckingham said in plain words, that they had the majority, and would make use of it, as he had observed done by others, when they had it on their side. So, though no examination had been made, but into that single point of the numbers at Almanza, they came to a general vote, that the late ministry had been negligent in the management of the war in Spain, to the great prejudice of the nation ; and they then ordered all their proceedings and votes to be put in an address, and laid before the Queen : and though they had made no inquiry into the expense of that war, nor into the application of the money given by the parliament for it, yet in their address they mentioned the great profusion of money in that service. This they thought would touch the nation very sensibly ; and they hoped the thing would be easily believed on their word. Protests were made against every vote, in the whole progress of this matter : some of these carried such reflections on the votes of the House, that they were expunged.

I never saw any thing carried on, in the House of Lords, so little to their honour as this was ; some, who voted with the rest, seemed ashamed of it : they said, somewhat was to be done to justify the Queen's change of the ministry ; and every thing elsewhere had been so well conducted, as to be above all censure : so the misfortune of Almanza, being a visible thing, they resolved to lay the load there. The management of the public treasure was exact and unexceptionable : so that the single misfortune of the whole war was to be magnified : some were more easily drawn to concur in these votes, because, by the act of grace, all those who had been concerned in the administration were covered from prosecution and punishment : so this was re-

A strange  
way of pro-  
ceeding.

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presented to some, as a compliment that would be very acceptable to the Queen, and by which no person could be hurt. They loaded singly the Earl of Gallway with the loss of the battle of Almanza, though it was resolved on in a council of war, and he had behaved himself in it with all the bravery and conduct that could be expected from a great general, and had made a good retreat, and secured Catalonia with inexpressible diligence. They also censured him for not insisting on the point of honour, in the precedence to be given to the English troops, as soon as the Portuguese army entered into Spain: but, by our treaty with that crown, the army was to be commanded by a Portuguese general; so it was not in his power to change the order of the army: if he had made the least struggle about it, the Portuguese, who were not easily prevailed on to enter into Spain, would have gladly enough laid hold of any occasion, which such a dispute would have given them, and have turned back upon it: and so by his insisting on such a punctilio, the whole design would have been lost. We had likewise, in our treaty with them, yielded expressly the point of the flag in those seas, for which alone, on other occasions, we have engaged in wars; so he had no reason to contest a lesser point: yet a censure was likewise laid on this. And this was the conclusion of the inquiries made by the House of Lords this session.

Some abuses  
censured in  
the House of  
Commons.

Harley, in the House of Commons, led them to inquire into some abuses in the victualling the navy; they had been publicly practised for many years, some have said ever since the Restoration: the abuse was visible, but connived at, that several expenses might be answered that way. Some have said, that the captains' tables were kept out of the gain made in it. Yet a member of the House, who was a whig, was complained of for this, and expelled the House; and a prosecution was ordered against him: but the abuse goes on still, as avowedly as ever; here was a shew of zeal, and a seeming discovery of fraudulent practices, by which the nation was deceived.

Supplies  
given for  
the war.

The money did not come into the Treasury so readily as formerly, neither upon the act of four shillings in the pound, nor on the duty laid on malt. So, to raise a quick supply, there were two bills passed, for raising three millions and a half by two lotteries, the first of 1,500,000*l.* and the



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second of two millions, to be paid back in thirty-two years; and for a fund to answer this, duties were laid on hops, candles, leather, cards and dice, and on the postage on letters. In one branch of this, the House of Commons seemed to break in upon a rule that had hitherto passed for a sacred one. When the duty upon leather was first proposed, it was rejected by a majority, and so, by their usual orders, it was not to be offered again during that session: but after a little practice upon some members, the same duty was proposed, with this variation, that skins and tanned hides should be so charged: this was leather in another name. The lotteries were soon filled up; so, by this means, money came into the Treasury; and indeed this method has never yet failed of raising a speedy supply. There was no more asked, though, in the beginning of this session, the House had voted a million more than these bills amounted to; which made some conclude there was a secret negotiation and prospect of a peace.

As the Duke of Marlborough was involved in the general censure passed on the former ministry, so he had not the usual compliment of thanks for the successes of the former campaign: when that was moved in the House of Lords, it was opposed with such eagerness by the Duke of Argyll and others, that it was let fall: for this the Duke of Marlborough was prepared by the Queen; who, upon his coming over, told him that he was not to expect the thanks of the two houses, as had been formerly: she added, that she expected he should live well with her ministers, but did not think fit to say any thing of the reasons she had for making those changes in her ministry. Yet he shewed no resentments for all the ill usage he met with; and, having been much pressed by the states and our other allies to continue in the command of the army, he told me, upon that account he resolved to be patient, and to submit to every thing, in order to the carrying on the war; and finding the Queen's prepossession against his Dutchess was not to be overcome, he carried a surrender of all her places to the Queen: she was groom of the stole, had the robes, and the privy purse; in all which, she had served with great economy and fidelity to the Queen, and justice to those who dealt with the crown. The Dutchess of Somerset had the

The Duke of Marlborough still commanded our armies.

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Complaints  
upon the fa-  
vour shew-  
ed the Pala-  
tines.

two first of these employments, and Mrs. Masham had the last.

The House of Commons found the encouragement given the Palatines was so displeasing to the people, that they ordered a committee to examine into that matter. The truth of this story was, that in the year 1708, about fifty Palatines, who were Lutherans, and were ruined, came over to England: these were so effectually recommended to Prince George's chaplains, that the Queen allowed them a shilling a day, and took care to have them transported to the plantations: they, ravished with this good reception, wrote over such an account of it, as occasioned a general disposition among all the poor of that country to come over, in search of better fortunes; and some of our merchants, who were concerned in the plantations, and knew the advantage of bringing over great numbers to people those desert countries, encouraged them with the promises of lands and settlements there. This being printed, and spread through those parts, they came to Holland in great bodies: the anabaptists there were particularly helpful to them, both in subsisting those in Holland, and in transporting them to England. Upon their coming over, the Queen relieved them at first, and great charities were sent to support them: all the tories declared against the good reception that was given them, as much as the whigs approved of it. It happened at a bad season, for bread was then sold at double the ordinary price; so the poor complained, that such charities went to support strangers, when they needed them so much. The time of our fleet's sailing to the plantations was likewise at a great distance. The Palatines expected to be all kept together in a colony, and became very uneasy, when they saw that could not be compassed; some of them were both inactive and mutinous, and this heightened the outcry against them: some papists mixed among them, and came over with them; but they were presently sent back. Great numbers were sent to Ireland; but most of them to the plantations in North America, where it is believed their industry will quickly turn to a good account. The design was now formed to load the late administration all that was possible; so it was pretended, that in all that affair there was a design against the church, and to increase the numbers and strength of

the dissenters. It has indeed passed for an established maxim, in all ages, and in all governments, that the drawing of numbers of people to any nation, did increase its intrinsic strength; which is only to be measured by the multitude of the people, that inhabit and cultivate it: yet the House of Commons came to a sudden vote, that those who had encouraged and brought over the Palatines, were enemies to the nation: and because a letter, wrote by the Earl of Sunderland, in the Queen's name, to the Council of Trade, was laid before them, by which they were ordered to consider of the best methods of disposing of them, it was moved, to lay the load of that matter on him, in some severe votes: yet this was put off for that time; and afterwards by several adjournments delayed, till at last it was let fall.

But while the heat raised by this inquiry was kept up, the Commons passed a bill to repeal the act for a general naturalization of all protestants, which had passed two years before; pretending that it gave encouragement to the Palatines to come over, though none of them had made use of that act, in order to their naturalization. This was sent up to the Lords; and the Lord Guernsey, and some others, entertained them with tragical declamations on the subject; yet, upon the first reading of the bill, it was rejected. A bill, that was formerly often attempted, for disabling members of the House of Commons to hold places, had the same fate.

Another bill, for qualifying members, by having 600*l.* a year for a knight of the shire, and 300*l.* a year for a burgess, succeeded better: the design of this was to exclude courtiers, military men, and merchants, from sitting in the House of Commons, in hopes that this being settled, the land interest would be the prevailing consideration in all their consultations. They did not extend these qualifications to Scotland; it being pretended that estates there being generally small, it would not be easy to find men so qualified capable to serve. This was thought to strike at an essential part of our constitution, touching the freedom of elections: and it had been, as often as it was attempted, opposed by the ministry, though it had a fair appearance of securing liberty, when all was lodged with men of estates: yet our gentry was become so ignorant, and so corrupt, that many apprehended the ill effects of this; and that the

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A bill to repeal the general naturalization rejected by the Lords.

A bill qualifying members to be chosen, passed.



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An act for  
French  
wine.

interest of trade, which indeed supports that of the land, would neither be understood nor regarded. But the new ministers resolved to be popular with those who promoted it, so it passed, and was much magnified, as a main part of our security for the future.

An attempt  
on Harley  
by Guiscard.

Another bill passed, not much to the honour of those who promoted it, for the importation of the French wine: the interest of the nation lay against this so visibly, that nothing but the delicate palates of those who loved that liquor, could have carried such a motion through the two houses. But though the bill passed, it was like to have no effect: for it was provided, that the wine should be imported in neutral vessels; and the King of France had forbid it to be exported in any vessels but his own: it seems he reckoned that our desire of drinking his wine, would carry us to take it on such terms as he should prescribe. In the House of Commons there appeared a new combination of tories, of the highest form, who thought the court was yet in some management with the whigs, and did not come up to their height, which they imputed to Mr. Harley; so they began to form themselves in opposition to him, and expressed their jealousy of him on several occasions, sometimes publicly. But an odd accident, that had almost been fatal, proved happy to him; it fell out on the 8th of March, the day of the Queen's accession to the crown: one Guiscard, who was an abbot in France, had for some enormous crimes made his escape out of that kingdom; he printed a formal story of a design he was laying to raise a general insurrection in the southern parts of France (in conjunction with those who were then up in the Cevennes) for recovering their antient liberties, as well as for restoring the edicts in favour of the Huguenots: and he seemed very zealous for public liberty. He insinuated himself so into the Duke of Savoy, that he recommended him to our court, as a man capable of doing great service: he seemed forward to undertake any thing that he might be put on; he had a pension assigned him for some years, but it did not answer his expense; so when he was out of hope of getting it increased, he wrote to one at the court of France to offer his service there; and it was thought, he had a design against the Queen's person; for he had tried, by all the ways that he could contrive, to be admitted to speak

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with her in private, which he had attempted that very morning: but his letter being opened at the post-house, and brought to the cabinet council, a messenger was sent from the council to seize on him. He found him walking in St. James's Park; and, having disarmed him, carried him to the Lords, who were then sitting: as he waited without, before he was called in, he took up a penknife, which lay among pens in a standish; when he was questioned upon his letter, he desired to speak in private with secretary St. John, who refused it; and he being placed out of his reach, whereas Harley sat near him, he struck him in the breast with the penknife again and again, till it broke; and indeed wounded him as much as could be done with so small a tool. The other counsellors drew their swords, and stabbed Guiscard in several places; and their attendants being called in, they dragged him out. Harley's wound was presently searched; it appeared to be a slight one, yet he was long in the surgeon's hands: some imputed this to an ill habit of body; others thought it was an artifice to make it seem more dangerous than indeed it was. Guiscard's wounds were deeper and not easily managed; for at first he was sullen, and seemed resolved to die; yet, after a day, he submitted himself to the surgeons: but did not complain of a wound in his back till it gangrened, and of that he died. It was not known what particulars were in his letter, for various reports went of it; nor was it known what he confessed.

This accident was of great use to Harley; for the party formed against him, was ashamed to push a man who was thus assassinated by one that was studying to recommend himself to the court of France, and who was believed to have formed a design against the Queen's person. Her health was at this time much shaken. She had three fits of an ague; the last was a severe one: but the progress of the disease was stopped by the bark.

The tories continued still to pursue the memory of King William; they complained of the grants made by him, though these were far short of those that had been made by King Charles the Second; but that they might distinguish between those whom they intended to favour, and others against whom they were set, they brought in a bill, empowering some persons to examine all the grants made

A design  
against  
King Wil-  
liam's  
grants mis-  
carries.

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by him, and to report both the value of them and the considerations upon which they were made: this was the method that had succeeded with them before, with relation to Ireland; so the bringing in this bill was looked on as a sure step for carrying the resumption of all the grants that they had a mind to make void. When it was brought up to the Lords, the design appeared to be an unjust malice against the memory of our deliverer, and against those who had served him best; so upon the first reading of the bill it was rejected.

Inquiries  
into the ac-  
counts.

Their malice turned next against the Earl of Godolphin: they found that the supplies given by parliament were not all returned, and the accounts of many millions were not yet passed in the Exchequer; so they passed a vote that the accounts of thirty-five millions yet stood out. This was a vast sum; but, to make it up, some accounts in King Charles's time were thrown into the heap; the Lord Ranclagh's accounts of the former reign were the greatest part; and it appeared, that in no time accounts were so regularly brought up, as in the Queen's reign. Mr. Bridges' accounts of fourteen or fifteen millions, were the great item, of which not above half a million was passed: but there were accounts of above eleven millions brought in, though not passed in form, through the great caution and exactness of the Duke of Newcastle, at whose office they were to pass: and he was very slow, and would allow nothing without hearing counsel on every article. The truth is, the methods of passing accounts were so sure, that they were very slow; and it was not possible for the proper officers to find time and leisure to pass the accounts that were already in their hands. Upon this, though the Earl of Godolphin had managed the Treasury with an uncorruptness, fidelity, and diligence, that were so unexceptionable, that it was not possible to fix any censure on his administration; yet, because many accounts stood out, they passed some angry votes on that: but since nothing had appeared, in all the examination they had made, that reflected on him, or on any of the whigs, they would not consent to the motion that was made for printing that report; for by that it would have appeared who had served well, and who had served ill.

When this session drew near an end, some were con-



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cerned to find that a body chosen so much by the zeal and influence of the clergy, should have done nothing for the good of the church; so it being apparent, that in the suburbs of London there were about two hundred thousand people more than could possibly worship God in the churches built there, upon a message to them from the Queen (to which the rise was given by an address to her from the convocation), they voted that fifty more churches should be built; and laid the charge of it upon that part of the duty on coals, that had been reserved for building of St. Paul's, which was now finished.

In the beginning of April, the Dauphin and the Emperor both died of the small-pox; the first on the 3d, the second on the 6th of the month: time will shew what influence the one or the other will have on public affairs. The electors were all resolved to choose King Charles Emperor. A little before the Emperor's death, two great affairs were fully settled; the differences between that court and the Duke of Savoy were composed to the Duke's satisfaction: the other was of more importance; offers of amnesty and concessions were sent to the malecontents in Hungary, with which they were so well satisfied, that a full peace was like to follow on it: and lest the news of the Emperor's death should be any stop to that settlement, it was kept up from them, till a body of ten thousand came in and delivered up their arms, with the fort of Cassaw, and took an oath of obedience to King Charles, which was the first notice they had of Joseph's death.

The Dauphin's death, and the Emperor's.

The effects of this will probably go farther than barely to the quieting of Hungary; for the King of Sweden, the Crim Tartar, and the agents of France, had so animated the Turks against the Muscovites, that though the Sultan had no mind to engage in a new war, till the affairs of that empire should be put in a better state, yet he was so apprehensive of the Janizaries, that, much against his own inclinations, he was brought to declare war against the Czar: but both the Czar and he seemed inclined to accept the mediation that was offered by England and by the states; to which very probably the Turks may the more easily be brought, when they see no hope of any advantage to be made from the distractions in Hungary.

War breaking out between the Turk and the Czar.

It did not yet appear what would be undertaken on either

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side in Spain: King Philip had not yet opened the campaign; but it was given out, that great preparations were made for a siege: on the other hand, King Charles had great reinforcements sent him; so that his force was reckoned not inferior to King Philip's: nor was it yet known, what resolutions he had taken, since he received the news of the Emperor's death.

The campaign was now opened on both sides in the Netherlands, though later than was intended: the season continued long so rainy, that all the ways in those parts were impracticable: nothing was yet attempted on either side; both armies lay near one another; and both were so well posted, that no attack was yet made: and this was the present state of affairs abroad, at the end of May. At home, Mr. Harley was created Earl of Oxford, and then made lord high treasurer, and had now the supreme favour: the session of parliament was not yet at an end. There had been a great project carried on for a trade into the South Sea; and a fund was projected, for paying the interest of nine millions, that were in arrear for our marine affairs.

The convocation met.

From our temporal concerns, I turn to give an account of those which related to the church. The convocation of the province of Canterbury was opened the 25th of November, the same day in which the parliament met: and Atterbury was chosen prolocutor. Soon after, the Queen sent a license to the convocation, empowering them to enter upon such consultations, as the present state of the church required, and particularly to consider of such matters as she should lay before them; limiting them to a quorum, that the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London, or the Bishop of Bath and Wells should be present, and agree to their resolutions. With this license, there was a letter directed to the Archbishop, in which the convocation was ordered to lay before the Queen an account of the late excessive growth of infidelity and heresy among us; and to consider how to redress abuses in excommunications; how rural deans might be made more effectual; how terriers might be made and preserved more exactly; and how the abuses in licenses for marriage might be corrected.

Exceptions to the license sent them.

In this whole matter, neither the Archbishop nor any of the bishops were so much as consulted with; and some things in the license were new: the Archbishop was not

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named the president of the convocation, as usual in former licenses; and in these, the Archbishop's presence and consent alone was made necessary, except in case of sickness, and then the Archbishop had named some bishops to preside, as his commissaries: and, in that case, the convocation was limited to his commissaries, which still lodged the presidentship and the negative with the Archbishop: this was according to the primitive pattern, to limit the clergy of a province to do nothing, without the consent of the metropolitan; but it was a thing new and unheard of, to limit the convocation to any of their own body, who had no deputation from the Archbishop. So a report of this being made, by a committee that was appointed to search records, it was laid before the Queen: and she sent us a message to let us know, that she did not intend that those whom she had named to be of the quorum, should either preside or have a negative upon our deliberations, though the contrary was plainly insinuated in the license. The Archbishop was so ill of the gout, that after our first meetings he could come no more to us: so was the Bishop of London: upon which, the Bishop of Bath and Wells, seeing how invidiously he was distinguished from his brethren, in which he had not been consulted, pretended ill-health; and we were at a stand, till a new license was sent us, in which the Bishops of Winchester, Bristol, and St. David's were added to be of the quorum. The two last were newly consecrated, and had been in no functions in the church before: so the Queen not only passed over all the bishops made in King William's reign, but a great many of those named by herself, and set the two last in a distinction above all their brethren. All this was directed by Atterbury, who had the confidence of the chief minister; and because the other bishops had maintained a good correspondence with the former ministry, it was thought fit to put marks of the Queen's distrust upon them, that it might appear with whom her royal favour and trust was lodged.

A new license.

The convocation entered on the consideration of the matters referred to them by the Queen: and a committee was appointed, to draw a representation of the present state of the church, and of religion among us: but after some heads were agreed on, Atterbury procured that the drawing of this

A representation drawn for the Queen.



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might be left to him; and he drew up a most virulent declamation, defaming all the administration from the time of the Revolution: into this he brought many impious principles and practices, that had been little heard of or known, but were now to be published, if this should be laid before the Queen. The lower house agreed to his draught; but the bishops laid it aside, and ordered another representation to be drawn, in more general and more modest terms. It was not settled which of these draughts should be made use of, or whether any representation at all should be made to the Queen; for it was known, that the design in asking one was only to have an aspersion cast, both on the former ministry and on the former reign. Several provisions were prepared, with relation to the other particulars in the Queen's letter: but none of these were agreed to by both houses.

Whiston  
revives  
Arianism.

An incident happened, that diverted their thoughts to another matter: Mr. Whiston, the professor of mathematics in Cambridge, a learned man, of a sober and exemplary life, but much set on hunting for paradoxes, fell on the reviving the Arian heresy, though he pretended to differ from Arius in several particulars: yet, upon the main, he was partly Apollinarist, partly Arian; for he thought the *nous* or *word* was all the soul that acted in our Saviour's body. He found his notions favoured by the apostolical constitutions; so he reckoned them a part, and the chief part of the canon of the Scriptures. For these tenets he was censured at Cambridge, and expelled the University: upon that, he wrote a vindication of himself and his doctrine, and dedicated it to the convocation, promising a larger work on these subjects. The uncontested way of proceeding in such a case was, that the bishop of the diocese in which he lived, should cite him into his court in order to his conviction or censure, from whose sentence an appeal lay to the Archbishop, and from him to the crown: or the Archbishop might proceed in the first instance in a court of audience: but we saw no clear precedents of any proceedings in convocation, where the jurisdiction was contested: a reference made by the high commission to the convocation, where the party submitted to do penance, being the only precedent that appeared in history; and even of this we had no record: so that it not

being thought a clear warrant for our proceedings, we were at a stand. The act that settled the course of appeals in King Henry the Eighth's time, made no mention of sentences in convocation; and yet, by the act in the first of Queen Elizabeth, that defined what should be judged heresy, that judgment was declared to be in the crown: by all this, which the Archbishop laid before the bishops in a letter that he wrote to them on this occasion, it seemed doubtful whether the convocation could, in the first instance, proceed against a man for heresy; and their proceedings, if they were not warranted by law, might involve them in a premunire. So the upper house, in an address, prayed the Queen to ask the opinion of the judges, and such others as she thought fit, concerning these doubts, that they might know how the law stood in this matter.

Eight of the judges, with the attorney and solicitor-general, gave their opinion, that we had a jurisdiction, and might proceed in such a case; but brought no express law nor precedent to support their opinion; they only observed, that the law books spoke of the convocation, as having jurisdiction; and they did not see that it was ever taken from them: they were also of opinion, that an appeal lay from the sentence of convocation to the crown; but they reserved to themselves a power to change their mind, in case, upon an argument that might be made for a prohibition, they should see cause for it. Four of the judges were positively of a contrary opinion, and maintained it from the statutes made at the Reformation. The Queen, having received these different opinions, sent them to the Archbishop, to be laid before the two houses of convocation: and, without taking any notice of the diversity between them, she wrote that, there being now no doubt to be made of our jurisdiction, she did expect that we should proceed in the matter before us. In this it was visible, that those who advised the Queen to write that letter, considered more their own humours than her honour. Yet two great doubts still remained, even supposing we had a jurisdiction: the first was, of whom the court was to be composed; whether only of the bishops, or what share the lower house had in this judiciary authority: the other was, by what delegates, in case of an appeal, our sentence was to be examined: were no bishops to be in the court of delegates? or was the

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The different opinions of the judges concerning the power of the convocation.

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Whiston's  
doctrines  
condemned.

sentence of the Archbishop and his twenty-one suffragan bishops, with the clergy of the province, to be judged by the Archbishop of York and his three suffragan bishops? These difficulties appearing to be so great, the bishops resolved to begin with that in which they had, by the Queen's license, an indisputable authority; which was to examine and censure the book, and to see if his doctrine was not contrary to the Scriptures, and the first four general councils, which is the measure set by law to judge heresy. They drew out some propositions from his book, which seemed plainly to be the reviving of Arianism, and censured them as such. These they sent down to the lower house, who, though they excepted to one proposition, yet censured the rest in the same manner. This the Archbishop (being then disabled by the gout) sent by one of the bishops to the Queen for her assent, who promised to consider of it: but to end the matter at once, at their next meeting in winter, no answer being come from the Queen, two bishops were sent to ask it; but she could not tell what was become of the paper which the Archbishop had sent her; so a new extract of the censure was again sent to her: but she has not yet thought fit to send any answer to it. So Whiston's affair sleeps, though he has published a large work in four volumes in octavo, justifying his doctrine, and maintaining the canonicalness of the apostolical constitutions, preferring their authority not only to the epistles, but even to the gospels. In this last I do not find he has made any proselytes, though he has set himself much to support that paradox.

The lower house would not enter into the consideration of the representation sent down to them by the bishops; so none was agreed on to be presented to the Queen: but both were printed, and severe reflections were made, in several tracts, on that which was drawn by the lower house, or rather by Atterbury. The bishops went through all the matters recommended to them by the Queen; and drew up a scheme of regulations on them all: but neither were these agreed to by the lower house; for their spirits were so exasperated, that nothing sent by the bishops could be agreeable to them. At last the session of parliament and the convocation came to an end.

The last thing settled by the parliament was, the creating



a new fund for a trade in the South Sea: there was a great debt upon the navy, occasioned partly by the deficiency of the funds appointed for the service at sea, but chiefly by the necessity of applying such supplies as were given, without appropriating clauses, to the service abroad; where it was impossible to carry it on by credit, without ready money; so it was judged necessary to let the debt of the navy run on upon credit: this had risen up to several millions; and the discount on the navy bills ran high. All this was thrown into one stock; and a fund was formed for paying the interest at six per cent.

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An act for  
the South  
Sea trade.

The flatterers of the new ministers made great use of this to magnify them, and to asperse the old ministry: but a full report of that matter was soon after published, by which it appeared, that the public money had been managed with the utmost fidelity and frugality; and it was made evident, that when there was not money enough to answer all the expense of the war, it was necessary to apply it to that which pressed most, and where the service could not be carried on by credit: so this debt was contracted by an inevitable necessity; and all reasonable persons were fully satisfied with this account of the matter. The Earl of Godolphin's unblemished integrity was such, that no imputation of any sort could be fastened on him; so, to keep up a clamour, they reflected on the expense he had run the nation into, upon the early successes in the year 1706; which were very justly acknowledged, and cleared in the succeeding session, as was formerly told: but that was now revived; and it was said to be an invasion of the great right of the Commons in giving supplies, to enter on designs, and to engage the nation in an expense, not provided for by parliament. This was aggravated, with many tragical expressions, as a subversion of the constitution; so with this, and that of the thirty-five millions, of which the accounts were not yet passed, and some other particulars, they made an inflaming address to the Queen at the end of the sessions. And this was artificially spread through the nation, by which weaker minds were so possessed, that it was not easy to undeceive them, even by the fullest and clearest evidences; the nation seemed still infatuated beyond the power of conviction. With this the session ended, and all considering persons had a very melancholy pros-

Reflections  
on the old  
ministry  
fully  
cleared.

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Affairs in  
Spain.

pect, when they saw what might be apprehended from the two sessions that were yet to come of the same parliament.

I now turn to affairs abroad. The business of Spain had been so much pressed from the throne, and so much insisted on, all this session, and the Commons had given 1,500,000*l.* for that service, (a sum far beyond all that had been granted in any preceding session,) so that it was expected matters would have been carried there in another manner than formerly. The Duke of Argyle was sent to command the Queen's troops there, and he seemed full of heat: but all our hopes failed. The Duke of Vendome's army was in so ill a condition, that if Stahremberg had been supported, he promised himself great advantages: it does not yet appear what made this to fail; for the parliament had not yet taken this into examination. It is certain the Duke of Argyle did nothing; neither he nor his troops were once named during the whole campaign; he wrote over very heavy complaints that he was not supported, by the failing of the remittances that he expected; but what ground there was for that does not yet appear: for, though he afterwards came over, he was very silent, and seemed in a good understanding with the ministers. Stahremberg drew out his forces; and the two armies lay for some time looking on one another without coming to any action: Vendome ordered a siege to be laid to two small places, but without success. That of Cardona was persisted in obstinately till near the end of December, and then Stahremberg sent some bodies to raise the siege, who succeeded so well in their attempt, that they killed two thousand of the besiegers, and forced their camp; so that they not only raised the siege, but made themselves masters of the enemy's artillery, ammunition, and baggage; and the Duke of Vendome's army was so diminished, that if Stahremberg had received the assistance which he expected from England, he would have pierced far into Spain. But we did nothing, after all the zeal we had expressed for retrieving matters on that side.

The election  
of King  
Charles to  
be emperor.

The Emperor's death, as it presently opened to King Charles the succession to the hereditary dominions; so a disposition appeared unanimously, among all the electors, to choose him Emperor: yet he staid in Barcelona till Sep-

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tember; and then, leaving his Queen behind, to support his affairs in Spain, he sailed over to Italy: he staid some weeks at Milan, where the Duke of Savoy came to him; and we were told, that all matters in debate were adjusted between them. We hoped this campaign would have produced somewhat in those parts of advantage to the common cause, upon the agreement made before the Emperor Joseph's death. And Mr. St. John, when he moved in the House of Commons for the subsidies to the Duke of Savoy, said, all our hopes of success this year lay in that quarter; for in Flanders we could do nothing. The Duke came into Savoy, and it was given out that he was resolved to press forward; but, upon what views it was not then known, he stopped his course; and after a short campaign, repassed the mountains.

The election of the emperor came on at Frankfort, where some electors came in person, others sent their deputies; some weeks were spent in preparing the capitulations; great applications were made to them, to receive deputies from the Electors of Bavaria and Cologne; but they were rejected, for they were under the ban of the empire; nor were they pleased with the interposition of the Pope's nuncio, who gave them much trouble in that matter; but they persisted in refusing to admit them. Frankfort lay so near the frontier of the empire, that it was apprehended the French might have made an attempt that way: for they drew some detachments from their army in Flanders to increase their forces on the Rhine. This obliged Prince Eugene, after he, in conjunction with the Duke of Marlborough, had opened the campaign in Flanders, to draw off a detachment from thence and march with it towards the Rhine; and there he commanded the imperial army; and came in good time to secure the electors at Frankfort; who, being now safe from the fear of any insult, went on slowly in all that they thought fit to propose previous to an election: and concluded unanimously to choose Charles, who was now declared emperor, by the name of Charles the Sixth: he went from Milan to Inspruck, and from thence to Frankfort, where he was crowned with the usual solemnity. Thus that matter was happily ended, and no action happened on the Rhine all this campaign.

The Duke of Marlborough's army was not only weak-



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The Duke  
of Marlbo-  
rough pass-  
ed the  
French  
lines.

ened by the detachment that Prince Eugene carried to the Rhine, but by the calling over five thousand men of the best bodies of his army for an expedition designed by sea; so that the French were superior to him in number: they lay behind lines, that were looked on as so strong, that the forcing them was thought an impracticable thing; and it was said that Villars had wrote to the French King, that he had put a *ne plus ultra* to the Duke of Marlborough: but, contrary to all expectation, he did so amuse Villars with feint motions, that at last, to the surprise of all Europe, he passed the lines near Bouchain, without the loss of a man.

This raised his character beyond all that he had done formerly; the design was so well laid, and was so happily executed, that in all men's opinions, it passed for a masterpiece of military skill; the honour of it falling entirely on the Duke of Marlborough, no other person having any share, except in the execution. When our army was now so happily got within the French lines, the Dutch deputies proposed the attacking the French, and venturing a battle, since this surprise had put them in no small disorder. The Duke of Marlborough differed from them; he thought there might be too much danger in that attempt; the army was much fatigued with so long a march, in which their cavalry had been eight-and-forty hours on horseback, alighting only twice, about an hour at a time, to feed their horses; for they marched eleven leagues in one day: the French were fresh; and our army was in no condition to enter upon action, till some time was allowed for refreshment: and the Duke of Marlborough thought that, in case of a misfortune, their being within the French lines might be fatal.

He besieged  
Bouchain.

He proposed the besieging Bouchain; which he thought might oblige the French to endeavour to raise the siege, and that might give occasion to their fighting on more equal terms, or it would bring both a disreputation and a disheartening on their army, if a place of such importance should be taken in their sight: both the Dutch deputies and the general officers thought the design was too bold, yet they submitted to him in the matter: it seemed impracticable to take a place situated in a morass, well fortified, with a good garrison in it, in the sight of a superior army; for the French lay within a mile of them: there was also

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great danger from the excursions that the garrisons of Valenciennes and Conde might make to cut off their provisions, which were to come to them from Tournay. All about the Duke studied to divert him from so dangerous an undertaking; since a misfortune in his conduct would have furnished his enemies with the advantages that they waited for. He was sensible of all this, yet he had laid the scheme so well, that he resolved to venture on it. The French tried to throw more men into the place by a narrow causeway through the morass, but he took his measures so well that he was guarded against every thing. He saw what the event of the siege might be, so he bestirred himself with unusual application; and was more fatigued in the course of this siege than he had been at any time during the whole war. He carried on the trenches, and by his batteries and bombs the place was soon laid in ruins. Villars seemed to be very busy, but to no purpose; yet, seeing he could not raise the siege, he tried to surprise Doway; but they discovered the design, and forced the body that was sent thither to retreat in all haste. After twenty days, from the opening the trenches, the garrison of Bouchain capitulated; and could

And took it.

No action happened at sea, for the French had no fleet out. An expedition was designed by sea for taking Quebec and Placentia; and for that end, five thousand men were brought from Flanders; Hill, who was brother to the favourite, had the command. There was a strong squadron of men of war ordered to secure the transport fleet; they were furnished from hence with provisions, only for three months; but they designed to take in a second supply at New England. A commissioner of the victualling then told me, he could not guess what made them be sent out so ill furnished; for they had stores, lying on their hands, for a full supply. They sailed soon after the end of the session, and had a quick passage to New England, but were forced to

An expedition by sea to Canada.

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It miscarried.

stay many weeks on that coast, before they could be supplied with provisions. They sailed near the end of August, into the river of Canada, which was thirty miles broad, but they were ill served with pilots; and at that season, storms were ordinary in those parts: one of these broke upon them, by which several ships were overset, and about two thousand five hundred men were lost. Thus the design of Quebec miscarried, and their provisions were too scanty to venture an attempt on Placentia; so they returned home unprosperous.

This was a great mortification to the new ministry; it being their first undertaking, ill projected, and worse executed, in every step of it: it was the more liable to censure, because at the very time that the old ministry were charged with entering on designs that had not been laid before the parliament, and for which no supplies had been given, they projected this, even while a session was yet going on, without communicating it to the parliament; whereas, what the former ministry had done this way, was upon emergents and successes, after the end of the session: but this matter has not yet been brought under a parliamentary examination, so the discoveries that may be made if that happens, must be referred to their proper place. This was the state of our affairs during this campaign; the merchants complained of great losses made at sea, by the ill management of convoys and cruisers.

Affairs in Turkey.

The war between the Turk and the Czar came to a quick end: the Czar advanced with his army so far into Moldavia, that he was cut off from his provisions; an engagement followed, in which, both sides pretended they had the advantage. It is certain, the Czar found he was reduced to great extremities; for he proposed, in order to a peace, to surrender Azuph, with some other places, and demanded that the King of Sweden might be sent home to his own country. The Grand Vizier was glad to arrive at so speedy a conclusion of the war; and, notwithstanding the great opposition made by the King of Sweden, he concluded a peace with the Muscovite, not without suspicion of his being corrupted by money to it. The King of Sweden, being highly offended at this, charged the Grand Vizier for neglecting the great advantages he had over the Czar, since he and his whole army were at mercy; and he prevailed so far at the



Porte, that upon it the Grand Vizier was deposed, and there was an appearance of a war ready to break out the next year; for the Czar delayed the rendering Azuph, and the other places agreed to be delivered up; pretending that the King of Sweden was not sent home, according to agreement. Yet, to prevent a new war, all the places were at length delivered up: what effect this may have, must be left to farther time.

Towards the end of the year, the Danes and Saxons broke in by concert upon Pomerania, resolving to besiege Stralsund; but every thing necessary for a siege came so slowly from Denmark, that no progress was made, though the troops lay near the place for some months; and in that time the Swedes landed a considerable body of men in the isle of Rugen: at last the besiegers, being in want of every thing, were forced to raise the siege, and to retire from that neighbourhood, in the beginning of January. They sat down next before Wismar, but that attempt likewise miscarried, which rendered the conduct of the King of Denmark very contemptible; who thus obstinately carried on a war, at a time that a plague swept away a third part of the people of Copenhagen, with as little conduct as success. Having thus given a short view of affairs abroad,

I come next to give the best account I can, of a secret and important transaction at home: the ministers now found how hard it was to restore credit, and by consequence to carry on the war; Mr Harley's wound, gave the Queen the occasion which she seemed to be waiting for, upon his recovery she had created him an Earl, by a double title, of Oxford and Mortimer. Preambles to patents of honour, usually carry in them a short account of the dignity of the family, and of the services of the person advanced; but his preamble was very pompous, and set him out in the most extravagant characters that flatterers could invent; in particular it said, that he had redeemed the nation from robbery, had restored credit, and had rendered the public great service in a course of many years: all this was set out in too fulsome rhetoric, and being prepared by his own direction, pleased him so much, that whereas all other patents had been only read in the House of Lords, this was printed. He was at the same time made lord treasurer, and became the chief, if not sole minister, for every thing was directed

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And in
Pomerania.Harley
made an
earl, and
lord treasurer.

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Negotia-
tions for a
peace with
France.

by him. It soon appeared that his strength lay in managing parties, and in engaging weak people by rewards and promises, to depend upon him; but that he neither thoroughly understood the business of the Treasury, nor the conduct of foreign affairs. But he trusted to his interest in the Queen and in the favourite.

He saw the load that the carrying on the war must bring upon him; so he resolved to strike up a peace as soon as was possible. The Earl of Jersey had some correspondence in Paris and at St. Germain's, so he trusted the conduct of the negotiation to him. The Duke of Newcastle, who was lord privy seal, died of an apoplexy, in July, being the richest subject that had been in England, for some ages; he had an estate of above 40,000*l.* a year, and was much set on increasing it. Upon his death, it was resolved, to give the Earl of Jersey the privy-seal, but he died suddenly the very day in which it was to be given him; upon that, it was conferred on Robinson, Bishop of Bristol, who was designed to be the plenipotentiary in the treaty that was projected. One Prior, who had been Jersey's secretary, upon his death, was employed to prosecute that, which the other did not live to finish. Prior had been taken a boy out of a tavern, by the Earl of Dorset, who accidentally found him reading Horace, and he, being very generous, gave him an education in literature; he was sent to the court of France in September, to try on what terms we might expect a peace: his journey was carried on secretly; but upon his return, he was stopped at Dover; and a packet that he brought, was kept, till an order came from court to set him free: and by this accident the secret broke out. Soon after that, one Mesnager was sent over from France with preliminaries; but very different from those that had been concerted at the Hague, two years before.

Prelimina-
ries offered
by France.

By these the King of France offered to acknowledge the Queen, and the succession to the crown, according to the present settlement; and that he would *bona fide* enter into such measures, that the crowns of France and Spain should never belong to the same person: that he would settle a safe and proper barrier to all the allies: that he would raze Dunkirk, provided an equivalent should be given for destroying the fortifications he had made there at so great an expense: and that he would procure, both to England

and to the states, the re-establishing of their commerce. The court was then at Windsor: these propositions were so well entertained at our court, that a copy of them was ordered to be given to Count Gallas, the Emperor's minister: he treated these offers with much scorn, and printed the preliminaries in one of our newspapers; soon after that he was ordered to come no more to court, but to make haste out of England.

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The proceeding was severe and unusual; for the common method, when a provocation was given by a public minister, was to complain of him to his master, and to desire him to be recalled. It was not then known upon what this was grounded; that which was surmised was, that his secretary, Gaultier, who was a priest, betrayed him; and discovered his secret correspondence, and the advertisements he sent the Emperor, to give him ill impressions of our court; for which treachery he was rewarded with an abbey in France; but of this I have no certain information.

Count Gallas sent away with disgrace.

When our court was resolved on this project, they knew the Lord Townshend so well, that they could not depend on his serving their ends; so he was both recalled and disgraced: and the Lord Raby was brought from the court of Prussia, and advanced to be Earl of Strafford, and sent ambassador to Holland. It was not then known how far our court carried the negotiations with France; it was not certain, whether they only accepted of these preliminaries, as a foundation for a treaty to be opened upon them; or if any private promise or treaty was signed: this last was very positively given out, both in France and Spain. The very treating, without the concurrence of our allies, was certainly an open violation of our alliances, which had expressly provided against any such negotiation.

Earl of Strafford sent ambassador to Holland.

Many mercenary pens were set on work to justify our proceedings, and to defame our allies, more particularly the Dutch; this was done with much art, but with no regard to truth, in a pamphlet, entitled *The Conduct of the Allies, and of the late Ministry*; to which very full answers were written, detecting the thread of falsehood that ran through that work. It was now said, England was so exhausted, that it was impossible to carry on the war: and when King Charles was chosen Emperor, it was also said, he would be too great and too dangerous to all his neigh-

Many libels against the allies.

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hours, if Spain were joined to the Emperor, and to the hereditary dominions. It was also zealously, though most falsely, infused into the minds of the people, that our allies, most particularly the Dutch, had imposed on us, and failed us on many occasions. The jacobites did, with the greater joy, entertain this prospect of peace, because the Dauphin had, in a visit to St. Germain's, congratulated that court upon it; which made them conclude, that it was to have a happy effect, with relation to the Pretender's affairs.

Earl Rivers
sent to Han-
over, but
succeeded
not.

Our court denied this; and sent the Earl of Rivers to Hanover, to assure the Elector, that the Queen would take especial care to have the succession to the crown secured to his family, by the treaty that was to be opened. This made little impression on that Elector; for he saw clearly, that if Spain and the West Indies were left to King Philip, the French would soon become the superior power to all the rest of Europe; that France would keep Spain in subjection, and by the wealth they would fetch from the Indies, they would give law to all about them, and set what king they pleased on the throne of England. Earl Rivers staid a few days there, and brought an answer from the Elector in writing; yet the Elector apprehended, not without reason, that it might be stifled; therefore he ordered his minister to give a full memorial, to the same purpose, of which our court took no notice: but the memorial was translated and printed here, to the great satisfaction of all those who were afraid of the ill designs that might be hid, under the pretence of the treaty then proposed.

The states
are forced
to open a
treaty.

The Earl of Strafford pressed the states to comply with the Queen's desire of opening a treaty: they answered very slowly, being desirous to see how the parliament was inclined; but the parliament was prorogued from the 13th to the 29th of November, and from that to the 7th of December. It was also reported in Holland, that the Earl of Strafford, seeing the states slow in granting the passports, and upon that apprehending these delays flowed from their expecting to see how the parliament of England approved of these steps, told them plainly, that till they agreed to a treaty, and granted the passports, the session should not be opened: so they granted them, and left the time and place of treaty to the Queen's determination.

1711.



She named Utrecht as the place of congress, and the first of January, O.S. for opening it; and wrote a circular letter to all the allies, inviting them to send plenipotentiaries to that place. The Emperor set himself vehemently to oppose the progress of this matter; he sent Prince Eugene to dissuade the states from agreeing to it, and offered a new scheme of the war, that should be easier to the allies, and lie heavier on himself: but the passports were now sent to the court of France; that court demanded passports likewise for the plenipotentiaries of King Philip, and of the Electors of Bavaria and Cologne. This was offered by our court to the states; they refused it: but whether our ministers then agreed to it or not, I cannot tell.

Before the opening the session, pains were taken on many persons to persuade them to agree to the measures the court were in: the Duke of Marlborough, upon his coming over, spoke very plainly to the Queen against the steps that were already made; but he found her so possessed, that what he said made no impression, so he desired to be excused from coming to council, since he must oppose every step that was made in that affair. Among others, the Queen spoke to myself; she said, she hoped bishops would not be against peace: I said, a good peace was what we prayed daily for, but the preliminaries offered by France, gave no hopes of such an one; and the trusting to the King of France's faith, after all that had passed, would seem a strange thing. She said, we were not to regard the preliminaries; we should have a peace upon such a bottom, that we should not at all rely on the King of France's word; but we ought to suspend our opinion, till she acquainted us with the whole matter. I asked leave to speak my mind plainly; which she granted: I said, any treaty by which Spain and the West Indies were left to King Philip, must, in a little while, deliver up all Europe into the hands of France; and, if any such peace should be made, she was betrayed, and we were all ruined; in less than three years time, she would be murdered, and the fires would be again raised in Smithfield: I pursued this long, till I saw she grew uneasy; so I withdrew.

On the 7th of December, she opened the parliament: in her speech, she said, notwithstanding the arts of those who delighted in war, the time and place were appointed for

Endeavours
used by the
court before
they opened
the parlia-
ment.

The Queen's
speech to
the two
houses.

1711.

treating a general peace; her allies, especially the states, had, by their ready concurrence, expressed an entire confidence in her; and she promised to do her utmost to procure reasonable satisfaction to them all. She demanded of the House of Commons, the necessary supplies for carrying on the war; and hoped that none would envy her the glory of ending it by a just and honourable peace; she in particular recommended unanimity, that our enemies might not think us a divided people, which might prevent that good peace, of which she had such reasonable hopes, and so near a view.

Reflections
on it.

The speech gave occasion to many reflections; “the arts of those who delighted in war” seemed to be levelled at the Duke of Marlborough, and the preliminaries concerted at the Hague; her saying that the allies reposed an entire confidence in her, amazed all those who knew, that neither the Emperor nor the empire had agreed to the congress, but were opposing it with great vehemence; and that even the states were far from being cordial or easy in the steps that they had made.

Earl of Nottingham moved that no peace could be safe unless Spain and the West Indies were taken from the house of Bourbon.

After the speech, a motion was made in the House of Lords, to make an address of thanks to the Queen for her speech; upon this, the Earl of Nottingham did very copiously set forth the necessity of having Spain and the West Indies out of the hands of a prince of the house of Bourbon; he moved that, with their address of thanks, they should offer that as their advice to the Queen: he set forth the misery that all Europe, but England most particularly, must be under, if the West Indies came into a French management; and that King Philip’s possessing them was, upon the matter, the putting them into the hands of France. This was much opposed by the ministers; they moved the referring that matter to another occasion, in which it might be fully debated; but said, it was not fit to clog the address with it. Some officious courtiers said, that since peace and war belonged, as prerogatives, to the crown, it was not proper to offer any advice in those matters, till it was asked: but this was rejected with indignation, since it was a constant practice in all sessions of parliament, to offer advices; no prerogative could be above advice; this was the end specified in the writ, by which a parliament was summoned; nor was the motion for a delay received. The eyes of all Europe were upon the present session; and this

was a post night: so it was fit they should come to a present resolution, in a matter of such importance. The question was put, whether this advice should be part of the address; and the previous question being first put, it was carried by one voice to put it; and the main question was carried by three voices: so this point was gained, though by a small majority. The same motion was made in the House of Commons, but was rejected by a great majority: yet in other respects their address was well couched: for they said, they hoped for a just, honourable, and lasting peace, to her Majesty and to all her allies.

1711.
Agreed to
by the
Lords.

When the address of the Lords was reported to the House, by the committee appointed to prepare it, the court tried to get the whole matter to be contested over again, pretending that the debate was not now, upon the matter, debated the day before, but only whether they should agree to the draught prepared by the committee: but that part of it, which contained the advice, was conceived in the very words, in which the vote had passed: and it was a standing rule, that what was once voted, could never again could be brought into question during that session: this was so sacred a rule, that many of those who voted with the court the day before, expressed their indignation against it, as subverting the very constitution of parliaments, if things might be thus voted and unvoted again, from day to day: yet even upon this a division was called for, but the majority appearing so evidently against the motion, it was yielded, without counting the House.

When the address was presented to the Queen, her answer was, she was sorry that any should think she would not do her utmost to hinder Spain and the West Indies from remaining in the hands of a prince of the house of Bourbon: and the Lords returned her thanks for this gracious answer; for they understood, by the doing her utmost, was meant the continuing the war. The court was much troubled to see the House of Lords so backward; and both sides studied to fortify themselves, by bringing up their friends, or by getting their proxies.

The next motion was made by the Earl of Nottingham, for leave to bring in a bill against occasional conformity: he told those with whom he now joined, that he was but one man come over to them, unless he could carry a bill to

The Queen's
answer.

A bill
against
occasional
conformity.

1711.

that effect; but, if they would give way to that, he hoped he should be able to bring many to concur with them in other things. They yielded this the more easily, because they knew that the court had offered, to the high men in the House of Commons, to carry any bill that they should desire in that matter: the Earl of Nottingham promised to draw it with all possible temper. It was thus prepared: that all persons in places of profit and trust, and all the common-council-men in corporations, who should be at any meeting for divine worship, (where there were above ten persons more than the family,) in which the common-prayer was not used, or where the Queen and the Princess Sophia were not prayed for, should, upon conviction, forfeit their place of trust or profit, the witnesses making oath within ten days, and the prosecution being within three months after the offence; and such persons were to continue incapable of any employment, till they should depose, that for a whole year together they had been at no conventicle. The bill did also enact, that the toleration should remain inviolable, in all time to come; and that if any person should be brought into trouble, for not having observed the rules that were prescribed by the act that first granted the toleration, all such prosecution should cease, upon their taking the oath prescribed by that act: and a teacher, licensed in any one county, was by the bill qualified to serve in any licensed meeting in any part of England; and, by another clause, all who were concerned in the practice of the law in Scotland were required to take the abjuration in the month of June next.

Passed
without op-
position.

No opposition was made to this in the House of Lords; so it passed in three days; and it had the same fate in the House of Commons; only they added a penalty on the offender of 40*l.* which was to be given to the informer: and so it was offered to the royal assent, with the bill for four shillings in the pound. Great reflections were made on the fate of this bill, which had been formerly so much contested, and was so often rejected by the Lords, and now went through both houses in so silent a manner, without the least opposition. Some of the dissenters complained much that they were thus forsaken by their friends, to whom they had trusted; and the court had agents among them, to inflame their resentments, since they were sacri-

ficed by those on whom they depended. All the excuse that the whigs made for their easiness in this matter, was, that they gave way to it, to try how far the yielding it might go toward quieting the fears of those who seemed to think the church was still in danger, till that act passed; and thereby to engage these to concur with them in those important matters that might come before them. It must be left to time to shew what good effect this act may have on the church, or what bad ones it may have on dissenters.

The next point that occasioned a great debate in the House of Lords, which was espoused by the court with great zeal, was a patent creating Duke Hamilton a duke in England: lawyers were heard for the patent; the Queen's prerogative in conferring honours was clear; all the subjects of the united kingdom had likewise a capacity of receiving honours; the commons of Scotland had it unquestionably, and it seemed a strange assertion that the peers of that nation should be the only persons incapable of receiving honour. By the act of union, the peers of Scotland were, by virtue of that treaty, to have a representation of sixteen for their whole body; these words, by virtue of that treaty, seemed to intimate, that by creation or succession they might be made capable. And, in the debate that followed in the House, the Scotch lords, who had been of the treaty, affirmed that these words were put in on that design; and, upon this, they appealed to the English lords: this was denied by none of them. It was also urged, that the House of Lords had already judged the matter, when they not only received the Duke of Queensberry, upon his being created Duke of Dover, but had so far affirmed his being a peer of Great Britain, that, upon that account, they had denied him the right of voting in the election of the sixteen peers of Scotland. But in opposition to all this it was said, that the prerogative could not operate when it was barred by an act of parliament; the act of union had made all the peers of Scotland peers of Great Britain, as to all intents, except the voting in the House of Lords, or sitting in judgment on a peer; and as to their voting, that was vested in their representatives, by whom they voted: the Queen might give them what titles she pleased; but this incapacity of voting, otherwise than by these sixteen, being settled by law, the prerogative was by that limited as to

1711.



Duke Hamilton's patent examined.

1711.



them: they had indeed admitted the Duke of Queensberry to sit among them, as Duke of Dover, but that matter was never brought into debate; so it was only passed over in silence: and he was mentioned in their books, upon the occasion of his voting in the choice of the sixteen peers of Scotland, in terms that were far from determining this; for it was there said, that he, claiming to be Duke of Dover, could not vote as a Scotch peer. The Scotch lords insisted in arguing for the patent, with great vehemence, not without intimations of the dismal effects that might follow, if it should go in the negative. The court put their whole strength to support the patent: this heightened the zeal of those who opposed it; for they apprehended, that considering the dignity and the antiquity of the Scotch peers, and the poverty of the greater part of them, the court would always have recourse to this, as a sure expedient to have a constant majority in the House of Lords. There was no limitation indeed on the prerogative, as to the creation of new peers, yet these were generally men of estates who could not be kept in a constant dependance, as some of the Scotch lords might be.

Judged
against him.

The Queen heard all the debate, which lasted some hours; in conclusion, when it came to the final vote, fifty-two voted for the patent, and fifty-seven against it. The Queen and the ministers seemed to be much concerned at this, and the Scotch were enraged at it: they met together, and signed a representation to the Queen, complaining of it as a breach of the union, and a mark of disgrace put on the whole of the peers of Scotland, adding solemn promises of maintaining her prerogative, either in an united or separated state. This made the ministers resolve on another method to let the peers, and indeed the whole world see, that they would have that House kept in a constant dependance on the court, by creating such a number of peers at once, as should give them an unquestionable majority. On the 22d of December, the bill for four shillings in the pound was ready for the royal assent; yet the House of Commons adjourned to the 14th of January, which was a long recess in so critical a time.

The Lords'
address that
our allies
might be

A motion was made in the House of Lords, by the Duke of Devonshire, for leave to bring in a bill, to give the Prince Electoral of Hanover, as Duke of Cambridge, the

precedence of all peers; this was granted, and so was like to meet with no opposition. The Earl of Nottingham moved next, that before their recess, they should make an address to the Queen, desiring her to order her plenipotentiaries to concert, with the ministers of the allies, the grounds upon which they were to proceed in their treaties, and to agree on a mutual guarantee to secure them to us, as well as to all Europe, and in particular to secure the protestant succession to England. All the opposition that the court made to this was, to shew it was needless, for it was already ordered: and the Lord Treasurer said, the Lords might, in order to their satisfaction, send to examine their instructions. To this it was answered, that the offering such an address would fortify the plenipotentiaries in executing their instructions. The court moved, that these words might be put in the address, "if the Queen had not ordered it;" so, this being agreed to, the thing passed; and the Lords adjourned to the 2d of January.

1711.

carried
along with
us in the
treaty.

But a new scene was ready to be opened in the House of Commons; the commissioners for examining the public accounts made some discoveries, upon which they intended to proceed at their next meeting. Walpole, who had been secretary of war, and appeared with great firmness in the defence of the late ministry, was first aimed at; a bill had been remitted to him of 500*l.* by those who had contracted to forage the troops that lay in Scotland; this made way to a matter of more importance: a Jew, concerned in the contract for furnishing bread to the army in Flanders, made a present yearly to the Duke of Marlborough of between 5 and 6000*l.* The general of the states had the like present, as a perquisite to support his dignity, and to enable him to procure intelligence. The Queen ordered 10,000*l.* a year more to the Duke of Marlborough, for the same service. The late King had also agreed, that two and a half per cent. should be deducted out of the pay of the foreign troops, which amounted to 15,000*l.* This the Queen, had by a warrant, appointed the Duke of Marlborough to receive on the same account.

Discoveries
of bribery
pretended.

He heard his enemies had discovered the present made him by the Jew, while he was beyond sea; so he wrote to them, and owned the whole matter to be true, and added,

The Duke
of Marlbo-
rough aimed
at.

1711.



that he had applied these sums to the procuring good intelligence, to which, next to the blessing of God and the bravery of the troops, their constant successes were chiefly owing. This did not satisfy the commissioners; but, though no complaints were brought from the army of their not being constantly supplied with good bread, yet they saw here was matter to raise a clamour, which they chiefly aimed at; so this was reported to the House of Commons before their recess.

He is turned
out of all his
employ-
ments.

A few days after this the Queen wrote him a letter, complaining of the ill treatment she received from him, and discharged him of all his employments: this was thought very extraordinary, after such long and eminent services: such accidents, when they happen, shew the instability of all human things: this was indeed so little expected, that those who looked for precedents could find none, since the disgrace of Belisarius in Justinian's time: the only thing pretended to excuse it was, his being considered as the head of those who opposed the peace, on which the court seemed to set their hearts.

Twelve new
peers made.

But they, finding the majority of the House of Lords could not be brought to favour their designs, resolved to make an experiment that none of our princes had ventured on in former times: a resolution was taken up very suddenly of making twelve peers all at once; three of these were called up by writ, being eldest sons of peers, and nine more were created by patent. Sir Miles Wharton, to whom it was offered, refused it: he thought it looked like the serving a turn; and that, whereas peers were wont to be made for services they had done, he would be made for services to be done by him; so he excused himself, and the favourite's husband, Mr. Masham, was put in his room. And whereas, formerly, Jeffries had the vanity to be made a peer, while he was chief justice, which had not been practised for some ages; yet the precedent set by him was followed, and Trevor, chief justice of the Common Pleas, was now advanced to be a peer. This was looked upon as an undoubted part of the prerogative; so there was no ground in law to oppose the receiving the new lords into the House: nor was it possible to raise, in the antient peers, a sense of the indignity that was now put upon their House; since the court did by this openly declare, that

they were to be kept in absolute submission and obedience.

1712.

When the 2d of January came, they were all introduced into the House of Lords without any opposition; and when that was over, the Lord Keeper delivered a message from the Queen, commanding them to adjourn forthwith to the 14th; for by that time her Majesty would lay matters of great importance before the two houses. Upon this a great debate arose: it was said, that the Queen could not send a message to any one house to adjourn, when the like message was not sent to both houses: the pleasure of the prince, in convening, dissolving, proroguing, or ordering the adjournment of parliaments, was always directed to both houses; but never to any one house, without the same intimation was made at the same time to the other. The consequence of this, if allowed, might be the ordering one house to adjourn, while the other was left to sit still; and this might end in a total disjoining of the constitution: the vote was carried for adjourning by the weight of the twelve new peers. It is true, the odds in the books is thirteen; but that was, because one of the peers, who had a proxy, without reflecting on it, went away when the proxies were called for.

The Queen's message to the Lords to adjourn, disputed, but obeyed.

At this time Prince Eugene was sent by the Emperor to England, to try if it was possible to engage our court to go on with the war; offering a new scheme, by which he took a much larger share of it on himself than the late Emperor would bear. That Prince's character was so justly high, that all people for some weeks pressed about the places where he was to be seen, to look on him. I had the honour to be admitted at several times, to much discourse with him: his character is so universally known, that I will say nothing of him, but from what appeared to myself. He has a most unaffected modesty, and does scarcely bear the acknowledgments that all the world pay him: he descends to an easy equality with those with whom he converses; and seems to assume nothing to himself, while he reasons with others: he was treated with great respect by both parties; but he put a distinguished respect on the Duke of Marlborough, with whom he passed most of his time. The Queen used him civilly, but not with the distinction that

Prince Eugene came to England.

1712.

A message
to both
houses.

was due to his high merit : nor did he gain much ground with the ministers.

When the 14th of January came, the houses were ordered to adjourn to the 18th, and then a message was sent to both houses ; the Queen told them, the congress was opened, and that she would set a day for ending it, as well as she had done for opening it. She had ordered her plenipotentiaries to agree with the ministers of her allies, according to all her treaties with them, to obtain reasonable satisfaction to their demands ; in particular concerning Spain and the West Indies ; by which the false reports of ill-designing men, who, for evil ends, had reported that a separate peace was treated, would appear, for there was never the least colour given for this. She also promised, that the articles of the treaty should be laid before the houses, before any thing should be concluded. Upon this, the House of Lords agreed to an address, thanking her Majesty for communicating this to them, and for the promises she had made them, repeating the words in which they were made : it was moved to add the words, “ conform to her alliance ; ” but it was said, the Queen assured them of that, so the repeating of these words seemed to intimate a distrust ; and that was not carried. But, because there seemed to be an ambiguity in the mention made of Spain and the West Indies, the House expressed in what sense they understood them, by adding these words, “ which were of the greatest importance to the safety and commerce of these nations.” The Commons made an address to the same purpose, in which they only named Spain and the West Indies.

A bill giving
precedence
to the house
of Hanover.

The Lord Treasurer prevented the Duke of Devonshire, who had prepared a bill for giving precedence to the Duke of Cambridge ; for he offered a bill, giving precedence to the whole electoral family, as the children and nephews of the crown ; and it was intimated, that bills relating to honours and precedence ought to come from the crown : the Duke of Devonshire would make no dispute on this head ; if the thing passed, he acquiesced in the manner of passing it, only he thought it lay within the authority of the House. On this occasion the court seemed, even to an affectation, to shew a particular zeal in promoting this bill ; for it passed through both houses in two days, it being read

1712.



thrice in a day in them both. For all this haste, the court did not seem to design any such bill till it was proposed by others, out of whose hands they thought fit to take it. There were two other articles in the Queen's message; by the one, she desired their advice and assistance, to quiet the uneasiness that the peers of Scotland were under, by the judgment lately given; by the other, she complained of the license of the press, and desired some restraint might be put upon it. The Lords entered upon the consideration of that part of the Queen's message, that related to the peers of Scotland; and it took up almost a whole week. The court proposed, that an expedient might be found, that the peers of Scotland should not sit among them by election, but by descent, in case the rest of the peers of that nation should consent to it: a debate followed concerning the articles of the union, which of them were fundamental and not alterable; it was said, that by the union, no private right could be taken away, but by the consent of the persons concerned; therefore no alteration could be made in the right of the peers of Scotland, unless they consented to it. It was afterwards debated, whether an alteration might be made with this condition, in case they should consent to it; or whether the first rise to any such alteration ought not to be given by a previous desire. This was not so subject to an ill management: the court studied to have a subsequent consent received as sufficient; but a previous desire was insisted on, as visibly fairer and juster.

Debates
concerning
the Scotch
peers.

The House of Commons, after the recess, entered on the observations of the commissioners for taking the public accounts; and began with Walpole, whom they resolved to put out of the way of disturbing them in the house. The thing laid to his charge stood thus;—after he, as secretary of war, had contracted with some for forage to the horse that lay in Scotland, he, finding that the two persons who contracted for it made some gain by it, named a friend of his own as a third person, that he might have a share in the gain; but the other two had no mind to let him in to know the secret of their management, so they offered him 500*l*. for his share; he accepted of it, and the money was remitted: but they, not knowing his address, directed their bill to Walpole, who endorsed it, and the person concerned received the money: this was found out, and Wal-

Walpole's
case and
censure.

1712.

pole was charged with it as a bribe, that he had taken for his own use, for making the contract. Both the persons that remitted the money, and he who received it, were examined, and affirmed that Walpole was neither directly nor indirectly concerned in the matter; but the House insisted upon his having endorsed the bill, and not only voted this a corruption, but sent him to the Tower, and expelled him the House.

The censure
put on the
Duke of
Marlbo-
rough.

The next attack was on the Duke of Marlborough: the money received from the Jew was said to be a fraud; and that deducted out of the pay of the foreign troops, was said to be public money, and to be accounted for: the debate held long; it appeared that, during the former war, King William had 50,000*l.* a-year for contingencies; it was often reckoned to have cost much more. The contingency, was that service which could be brought to no certain head, and was chiefly for procuring intelligence: the Duke of Marlborough had only 10,000*l.* for the contingencies; and that, and all the other items joined together, amounted but to 30,000*l.* a sum much inferior to what had been formerly given; and yet, with this moderate expense, he had procured so good intelligence, that he was never surprised, and no party he sent out was ever intercepted or cut off. By means of this intelligence all his designs were so well concerted, that he succeeded in every one of them, and, by many instances, the exactness of his intelligence was fully demonstrated. It was proved, both by witnesses, and by formal attestations from Holland, that ever since the year 1672, the Jews had made the like present to the general of the states' army; and it was understood as a perquisite belonging to that command: no bargain was made with the Jews for the English troops, that made by the states being applied to them; so that it appeared, that the making such a present to the general was customary; but that was denied; and they voted the taking that present to be illegal: and, though he had the Queen's warrant to receive the sixpence in the pound, or two and a half per cent. deducted from the pay of the foreign troops, yet that was voted to be unwarrantable, and that it ought to be accounted for. The court espoused this with such zeal, and paid so well for it, that it was carried by a great majority: upon this, many virulent writers (whether set on to it, or officiously studying

to merit by it, did not appear) threw out, in many defamatory libels, a great deal of their malice against the Duke of Marlborough: they compared him to Catiline, to Crassus, and to Anthony; and studied to represent him as a robber of the nation, and as a public enemy. This gave an indignation to all who had a sense of gratitude, or a regard to justice. In one of these scurrilous papers, wrote on design to raise the rabble against him, one of the periods began thus: "he was, perhaps, once fortunate." I took occasion to let Prince Eugene see the spite of these writers, and mentioned this passage; upon which he made this pleasant reflection, "that it was the greatest commendation could be given him, since he was always successful; so this implied, that in one single instance he might be fortunate, but that all his other successes were owing to his conduct." I upon that said, that single instance must be then his escaping out of the hands of the party that took him, when he was sailing down the Maese in the boat. But their ill will rested not in defamation; the Queen was prevailed on to send an order to the attorney-general to prosecute him for the 15,000*l.* that was deducted yearly out of the pay of the foreign troops, which he had received by her own warrant; but what this will end in, must be left to time.

1712.

Many libels
against him.

The Duke of Ormond was now declared general, and had the first regiment of guards; and the Earl of Rivers was made master of the ordinance.

Secret inquiries were made, in order to the laying more load on the Duke of Marlborough, and to see whether posts in the army, or in the guards were sold by him; but nothing could be found: he had suffered a practice to go on, that had been begun in the late King's time, of letting officers sell their commissions; but he had never taken any part of the price to himself: few thought that he had been so clear in that matter; for it was the only thing, in which his enemies were confident, that some discoveries would have been made to his prejudice; so that the endeavours used, to search into those matters, producing nothing, raised the reputation of his incorrupt administration, more than all his well-wishers could have expected. Thus happy does sometimes the malice of an enemy prove! In this whole transaction we saw a new scene of ingratitude, acted in a

His innocence appeared evi-

1712.



most imprudent manner; when the man, to whom the nation owed more, than it had ever done, in any age, to any subject, or perhaps to any person whatsoever, was for some months pursued with so much malice: he bore it with silence and patience, with an exterior that seemed always calm and cheerful; and, though he prepared a full vindication of himself, yet he delayed publishing it, till the nation should return to its senses, and be capable of examining these matters, in a more impartial manner.

The Scotch
lords put
in good
hopes.

The Scotch lords, seeing no redress to their complaint, seemed resolved to come no more to sit in the House of Peers; but the court was sensible, that their strength in that House consisted chiefly in them, and in the new peers: so pains were taken, and secret forcible arguments were used to them, which proved so effectual, that after a few days' absence, they came back; and continued, during the session, to sit in the House. They gave it out, that an expedient would be found, that would be to the satisfaction of the peers of Scotland; but nothing of that appearing, it was concluded that the satisfaction was private, and personal. The great arrear, into which all the regular payments, both of the household and of salaries and pensions was left to run, made it to be generally believed, that the income for the civil list, though it exceeded the establishment very far, was applied to other payments, which the ministers durst not own. And though secret practice on members had been a great while too common, yet it was believed, that it was at this time managed with an extraordinary profusion.

Those, who were suspected to have very bad designs, applied themselves with great industry to drive on such bills, as they hoped would give the presbyterians in Scotland such alarms, as might dispose them to remonstrate, that the union was broken. They passed not all at once; but I shall lay them together, because one and the same design was pursued in them all.

A toleration
to the Eng-
lish liturgy
in Scotland.

A toleration was proposed for the episcopal clergy, who would use the liturgy of the church of England; this seemed so reasonable, that no opposition was made to it: one clause put in it, occasioned great complaints; the magistrates, who by the laws were obliged to execute the sentences of the judicatories of their kirk, were by this act

required to execute none of them. It was reasonable to require them to execute no sentences that might be passed on any, for doing what was tolerated by this act; but the carrying this to a general clause, took away the civil sanction, which in most places is looked on as the chief, if not the only strength of church power. Those who were to be thus tolerated, were required, by a day limited in the act, to take the oath of abjuration; it was well known, that few, if any of them, would take that oath; so to cover them from it, a clause was put in this act, requiring all the presbyterian ministers to take it; since it seemed reasonable, that those of the legal establishment should be required to take that, which was now to be imposed on those, who were only to be tolerated. It was well understood, that there were words in the oath of abjuration, to which the presbyterians excepted. In the act of succession, one of the conditions on which the successor was to be received, was, his being of the communion of the church of England; and by the oath of abjuration, the succession was sworn to, as limited by that act: the word "limitation" imported only the entail of the crown; but it was suggested that the particle "as" related to all the conditions in that act. This was spread among so many of that persuasion, that it was believed a great party among them would refuse to take it; so a small alteration was made by the House of Lords, of these words, "as was limited," into words of the same sense, "which was limited;" but those who intended to excuse the episcopal party, who they knew were in the Pretender's interests, from taking the oath, were for keeping in those words, which the presbyterians scrupled. The Commons accordingly disagreed to the amendment made by the Lords; and they receding from it, the bill passed, as it had been sent up from the Commons. Another act passed for discontinuing the courts of judicature, during some days at Christmas, though the observing of holidays was contrary to their principles; this was intended only to irritate them.

After that, an act was brought in, for the restoring of patronages; these had been taken away by an act in King William's reign; it was set up by the presbyterians, from their first beginning, as a principle, that parishes had, from warrants in scripture, a right to choose their ministers; so

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Designs to
provoke the
presbyterians
there.

Patronages
restored.

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that they had always looked on the right of patronage, as an invasion made on that: it was therefore urged, that since, by the act of union, presbytery, with all its rights and privileges, was unalterably secured; and since their kirk-session was a branch of their constitution, the taking from them the right of choosing their ministers was contrary to that act: yet the bill passed through both houses, a small opposition being only made in either. By these steps the presbyterians were alarmed, when they saw the success of every motion that was made, on design to weaken and undermine their establishment.

The barrier
treaty.

Another matter, of a more public nature, was at this time set on foot; both houses of parliament had in the year 1709, agreed in an address to the Queen, that the protestant succession might be secured by a guarantee, in the treaty of peace; and this was settled at the Hague, to be one of the preliminaries: but when an end was put to the conferences at Gertruydenburgh, the Lord Townshend was ordered to set on foot a treaty with the states to that effect. They entertained it readily; but at the same time they proposed, that England should enter into a guarantee with them, to maintain their barrier; which consisted of some places they were to garrison, the sovereignty of which was still in the crown of Spain; and of other places, which had not belonged to that crown, at the death of King Charles the Second, but had been taken in the progress of the war: for by their agreements with us, they bore the charge of the sieges, and so the places taken were to belong to them: these were chiefly Lisle, Tournay, Menin, and Doway; and were to be kept still by them. But as for those places, which, from the time of the treaty of the Pyrenees, belonged to the Spaniards; they had been so ill looked after, by the Spanish Governors of Flanders, who were more set on enriching themselves, and keeping a magnificent court at Brussels, than on preserving the country; that neither were the fortifications kept in due repair, nor the magazines furnished, nor the soldiers paid: so that whensoever a war broke out, the French made themselves very easily masters of places so ill kept. The states had therefore proposed, during this war, that the sovereignty of those places should continue still to belong to the crown of Spain; but they should keep garrisons in the strongest and the most ex-

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posed, in particular those that lay on the Ly's and the Scheld; and for the maintaining this, they asked 100,000*l.* a-year from those provinces; by which means they would be kept better and cheaper than ever they had been, while they were in the hands of the Spaniards: they also asked a free passage for all the stores, that they should send to those places. This seemed to be so reasonable, that since the interest of England, as well as of the states, required that this frontier should be carefully maintained, the ministry were ready to hearken to it: it was objected, that in case of a war between England and the states, the trade of those provinces would be wholly in the hands of the Dutch; but this had been settled in the great truce, which, by the mediation of France and England, was made between the Spaniards and the states: there was a provisional order therein made, for the freedom of trade in those provinces; and that was turned to a perpetual one, by the peace of Munster. King Charles of Spain had agreed to the main of the barrier; some places on the Scheld were not necessary for a frontier, but the states insisted on them, as necessary to maintain a communication with the frontier: the King of Prussia excepted likewise to some places in the Spanish Guelder. The Lord Townshend thought, that these were such inconsiderable objections, that though his instructions did not come up to every particular, yet he signed the treaty, known by the name of the Barrier Treaty: by it the States bound themselves to maintain the Queen's title to her dominions and the protestant succession, with their whole force: and England was reciprocally bound to assist them in maintaining this barrier.

The mercenary writers, that were hired to defend the peace then projected with France, attacked this treaty with great virulence, and by arguments that gave just suspicions of black designs. They said it was a disgrace to this nation to engage any other state to secure the succession among us, which perhaps we might see cause to alter; whereas by this treaty, the states had an authority given them to interpose in our counsels. It was also said, that if the states were put in possession of all those strong towns, they might shut us out from any share of trade in them, and might erect our manufactures in provinces very capable of them; but it was answered, that this could not

It was complained of.

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be done as long as this treaty continued in force, unless the sovereign of the country should join with them against us. Some objected to the settlement made at Munster, as a transaction when we were in such confusion at home that we had no minister there; but that treaty had only rendered the truce, and the provisional settlement made before by the mediation of England, perpetual; and we had since acquiesced in that settlement for above sixty years. By examining into the particulars of the treaty, it appeared, that in some inconsiderable matters, the Lord Townshend had gone beyond the letter of his instructions, in which he had so fully satisfied the ministry, that though upon his first signing it, some exceptions had been taken, yet these were passed over, and the treaty was ratified in form.

But the present ministry had other views: they designed to set the Queen at liberty from her engagements by these alliances, and to disengage her from treaties. The House of Commons went now very hastily into several resolutions, that were very injurious to the states: they pretended, they had failed in the performance of all agreements, with relation to the service, both at sea and land; and the troops, that were to have been furnished in Portugal and Savoy, as well as the subsidies due to those princes. They fell next on the barrier treaty; they gave it out, that the old ministry designed to bring over an army from Holland, whensoever they should, for other ends, pretend that the protestant succession was in danger; and it was said, there was no need of any foreign assistance to maintain it. In the debate, it was insisted on, that it could be maintained safely no other way; it was not to be doubted, but the King of France would assist the Pretender; England was not inclined to keep up a standing army, in time of peace, to resist him; so that we could not be so safe any other way, as by having the states engaged, to send over their army, if it should be necessary. But reason is a feeble thing, to bear down resolutions already taken; so the House of Commons voted the treaty dishonourable, and injurious to England; and that the Lord Townshend had gone beyond his instructions in signing it: and that he and all, who had advised and ratified that treaty, were public enemies to the kingdom. These votes were carried by a great majority,

And con-
demned to
the House
of Lords.

and were looked on as strange preludes to a peace. When the states heard, what exceptions were taken to the barrier treaty, they wrote a very respectful letter to the Queen, in which they offered to explain or mollify any part of it, that was wrong understood; but the managers of the House of Commons got all their votes to be digested, into a well-composed, inflaming representation, which was laid before the Queen; by it, all the allies, but most particularly the states, were charged for having failed in many particulars, contrary to their engagements: they also laid before the Queen the votes they had made, with relation to the barrier treaty; and that they might name a great sum, that would make a deep impression on the nation (which was ready to receive all things implicitly from them) they said England had been, during the war, overcharged 19,000,000*l.* beyond what they ought to have paid; all which was cast on the old ministry.

The states, in answer to all this, drew up a large memorial, in which every particular in the representation was examined, and fully answered: they sent it over to their envoy, who presented it to the Queen; but no notice was taken of it—the end was already served; and the entering into a discussion about it, could have no other effect, but to confound those who drew it. The two first heads of the states' memorial, that related to the service at sea and in Flanders, were printed here, and contained a full answer to all that was charged on them as to those matters, to the ample conviction of all who examined the particulars. The House of Commons saw the effect this was like to have; so they voted it a false, malicious, scandalous, and injurious paper, and that the printing it was a breach of privilege: and to stop the printing the other heads, they put the printer in prison; this was a confutation, to which no reply could be made: yet it seemed to be a confession, that their representation could not be justified, when the answer to it was so carefully stifled. The House of Commons went next to repeal the naturalization act, in which they met with no opposition.

The self-denying bill was brought into the House of Commons; and, as was ordinary, it passed easily there: the scandal of corruption was how higher than ever; for it was believed, men were not only bribed for a whole session, but

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The states
justify
themselves.The self-de-
nying bill
lost.

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had new bribes for particular votes. The twelve new peers being brought into the House of Lords, had irritated so many there, that for two days, by all the judgments that could be made of the House, the bill was likely to have passed that House; but upon some prevailing arguments, secretly and dexterously applied to some lords, an alteration was made in it, by which it was lost: for whereas the bill, as it stood, was to take place after the determination of the present parliament, this was altered, so as that it should take place after the demise of the Queen; so it was no more thought on.

The House of Commons voted 2,000,000*l.* to be raised by a lottery; for which a fund was created that might pay both principal and interest in thirty-two years.

The treaty
at Utrecht
opened.

I look next to Utrecht, where the treaty was opened: the Emperor and the empire sent their ministers very late and unwillingly thither; but they submitted to the necessity of their affairs; yet with this condition, that the French proposals (for so the propositions that were formerly called preliminaries, came to be named) should be no ground to proceed on; and that a new treaty should be entered on, without any regard to them. It was also agreed, to save the loss of time in settling the ceremonial, that the plenipotentiaries should assume no character of dignity, till all matters were adjusted, and made ready for signing. The 1st of January was the day named for opening the congress; but they waited some time for the allies: in the beginning of February, O.S., the French made their proposals in a very high strain.

The French
proposals.

They promised, that at the signing of the treaty, they would own the Queen and the succession to the crown, as she should direct; Spain and the West Indies were to remain with King Philip; the dominions in Italy, with the Islands, except Sicily, were to go to the Emperor; and the Spanish Netherlands to the Elector of Bavaria: the trade was to be regulated, as it was before the war; some places in Canada were to be restored to England, with the freedom of fishery in Newfoundland; but Placentia was to remain with the French: Dunkirk was offered to be demolished; but Lisle and Tournay were to be given for it: the states were to have their demands for the barrier; and the frontier between France, the Empire, and Italy, was to be the same

that it was before the war; by which Landau, Fenestrella, and Exilles, were to be restored to France. These demands were as extravagant, as any that France could have made, in the most prosperous state of their affairs: this filled the allies with indignation, and heightened the jealousy they had of a secret understanding between the courts of England and France.

But a great change happened in the affairs of France at this very time, that their plenipotentiaries were making these demands at Utrecht. The Dauphiness was taken suddenly ill of a surfeit, as it was given out, and died in three days; and within three or four days after that, the Dauphin himself died; and in a few days after him his eldest son, about five or six years old, died likewise; and his second son, then about three years old, was thought to be in a dying condition. These deaths coming so quick one after another, struck that court. The King himself was for some days ill, but he soon recovered. Such repeated strokes were looked on with amazement. Poison was suspected, as is usual upon all such occasions; and the Duke of Orleans was generally charged with it. He was believed to have dealt much in chymistry, and was an ambitious prince. While he was in Spain, at the head of King Philip's army, he formed a project to set him aside, and to make himself King of Spain; in which, as the Lord Townshend told me, he went so far, that he tried to engage Mr. Stanhope to press the Queen and the states to assist him, promising to break with France, and to marry King Charles's dowager: this came to be discovered; he was upon that called out of Spain; and it was thought, that the only thing that saved him was the King's kindness to his natural daughter whom he had married. The King not only passed it over, but soon after he obliged the Duke of Berry to marry his daughter. Such care had that old King taken to corrupt the blood of France with the mixture of his spurious issue. King Philip was not at all pleased with the alliance; but wrote to his elder brother, exhorting for his not opposing the marriage more vigorously, with which he professed himself so displeased, that he could not be brought to congratulate upon it. This letter was sent from Madrid to Paris; but was intercepted and sent

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The death of
the two
Dauphins.

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The charac-
of the Dau-
phin.

to Barcelona, and from thence to the Hague: Dr. Hare told me he read the original letter.

The Duke of Burgundy, when he became dauphin, upon his father's death, had been let into the understanding the secrets of government; and as was given out, he had on many occasions expressed a deep sense of the miseries of the people with great sentiments of justice. He had likewise, in some disputes that Cardinal de Noailles had with the jesuits, espoused his interests, and protected him. It was also believed, that he retained a great affection to the Archbishop of Cambray, whose fable of Tele-machus carried in it the noblest maxims possible, for the conduct of a wise and good prince, and set forth that station in shining characters, but which were the reverse of Louis the Fourteenth's whole life and reign. These things gave the French a just sense of the loss they had in his death, and the apprehensions of a minority, after such a reign, struck them with a great consternation. These deaths, in so critical a time, seemed to portend, that all the vast scheme which the King of France had formed with so much perfidy and bloodshed, was in a fair way to be soon blasted: but I will go no further in so dark a prospect.

An indigna-
tion, when
the French
proposals
came over,
appeared in
both houses.

The French propositions raised, among the true English, a just indignation; more particularly their putting off the owning the Queen, till the treaty came to be signed. The Lord Treasurer, to soften this, said, he saw a letter, in which the King of France acknowledged her Queen; this was a confession that there was a private correspondence between them; yet the doing it, by a letter, was no legal act. In excuse of this, it was said, that the late King was not owned by the French, till the treaty of Ryswick came to be signed; but there was a mediator in that treaty, with whom our plenipotentiaries only negotiated; whereas there was no mediator at Utrecht; so that the Queen was now, without any interposition, treating with a prince, who did not own her right to the crown. The propositions made by the French were treated here with the greatest scorn; nor did the ministers pretend to say any thing in excuse for them: and an address was made to the Queen, expressing a just indignation at such a proceeding, promising her all assistance in carrying on the war, till she should arrive at a just and honourable peace.

The allies did offer their demands next, which ran as high another way. The Emperor asked the whole Spanish monarchy: England asked the restoring Newfoundland, and the demolishing Dunkirk: the states asked their whole barrier; and every ally asked satisfaction to all the other allies, as well as to himself. England and the states declared, that they demanded Spain and the West Indies for the Emperor; so the high pattern set by the French in their demands, was to the full imitated by the allies. The French set a day for offering their answer; but when the day came, instead of offering an answer in writing, they proposed to enter into verbal conferences upon the demands made on both sides: this had indeed been practised in treaties where mediators interposed; but that was not done till the main points were secretly agreed to. The allies rejected this proposition, and demanded specific answers in writing; so, till the beginning of May, the treaty went on in a very languid manner, in many fruitless meetings, the French always saying they had yet received no other orders; so that the negotiation there was at a full stand.

The preparations for the campaign were carried on by the Emperor and the states with all possible vigour. Prince Eugene staid three months in England, in a fruitless negotiation with our court, and was sent back with general and ambiguous promises. The states gave him the supreme command of their army, and assured him that, in the execution of the project that was concerted among them, he should be put under no restraint by their deputies or generals, and that no cessation of arms should be ordered till all was settled by a general peace. The Duke of Ormond followed him in April, well satisfied both with his instructions and his appointments; for he had the same allowances that had been lately voted criminal in the Duke of Marlborough.

At this time the Pretender was taken ill of the small-pox: he recovered of them; but his sister, who was taken with the same disease, died of it. She was, by all that knew her, admired as a most extraordinary person in all respects; insomuch, that a very great character was spread of her by those who talked but indifferently of the Pretender himself: thus he lost a great strength which she pro-

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The demands of the allies.

Preparations for the campaign.

The Pretender's sister died.

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Proceed-
ings in con-
vocation.

cured to him, from all who saw or conversed with her. I turn next to give an account of the convocation.

There was a doubt suggested, whether the Queen's license did still subsist, after a prorogation by a royal writ: the Attorney-General gave his opinion, that it was still in force; upon which the bishops went on with the resolution, in which the former session had ended, and sent back to the lower house a paper which had been sent to them from that house in the former session, with such amendments as they thought proper: but then Atterbury started a new notion, that as, in a session of parliament, a prorogation put an end to all matters not finished, so that they were to begin all a-new; the same rule was to be applied to convocations in pursuance of his favourite notion, that the proceedings in parliament were likewise to be observed amongst them. The bishops did not agree to this; for, upon searching their books, they found a course of precedents to the contrary: and the schedule, by which the Archbishop prorogued them, when the royal writ was sent him, did, in express words, continue all things in the state in which they were then, to their next meeting. Yet this did not satisfy Atterbury and his party; so the lower house ordered him to lay the matter before the Attorney-General for his opinion; he did that very partially, for he did not shew him the paper sent down by the bishops; he only gave him a very defective abstract of it, whereupon the Attorney-General gave him such an answer as he desired; by which it was very plain, that he was not rightly informed about it. The bishops resolved to adhere to the method of former convocations, and not to begin matters afresh that had been formerly near finished; by this means they were at a full stop, so that they could not determine those points which had been recommended to them by the Queen: but they entered upon new ones; there was then a bill, in the house of parliament, for building fifty new churches in and about London and Westminster; so an office, for consecrating churches and churchyards, was prepared: and probably this will be all the fruit that the church will reap from this convocation.

Censure on
Whiston's
book, not
confirmed

The censure that was passed on Whiston's book, in the former session, had been laid before the Queen in due form for her approbation: but at the opening of this ses-

sion in December, the bishops finding that no return was come from the throne in that matter, sent two of their number to receive her Majesty's pleasure in it. The Archbishop being so ill of the gout, that he came not among us all that winter. The Queen had put the censure, that we had sent her, into the hands of some of her ministers, but could not remember to whom she gave it; so a new extract of it was sent to her; and she said she would send her pleasure upon it very speedily; but none came during the session, so all further proceedings against him were stopped, since the Queen did not confirm the step that we had made: this was not unacceptable to some of us, and to myself in particular. I was gone into my diocese when that censure was passed; and I have ever thought, that the true interest of the Christian religion was best consulted, when nice disputing about mysteries was laid aside and forgotten.

There appeared, at this time, an inclination in many of the clergy, to a nearer approach towards the church of Rome. Hicks, an ill-tempered man, who was now at the head of the jacobite party, had in several books promoted a notion, that there was a proper sacrifice made in the eucharist, and had, on many occasions, studied to lessen our aversion to popery. The supremacy of the crown in ecclesiastical matters, and the method in which the Reformation was carried, was openly condemned. One Brett had preached a sermon in several of the pulpits of London, which he afterwards printed, in which he pressed the necessity of priestly absolution, in a strain beyond what was pretended to even in the church of Rome. He said no repentance could serve without it, and affirmed that the priest was vested with the same power of pardoning that our Saviour himself had. A motion was made in the lower house of convocation to censure this; but it was so ill supported, that it was let fall. Another conceit was taken up of the invalidity of lay baptism, on which several books have been writ; nor was the dispute a trifling one; since by this notion, the teachers among the dissenters passing for laymen, this went to the re-baptizing them and their congregations.

Dodwell gave the rise to this conceit; he was a very learned man, and led a strict life; he seemed to hunt

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by the
Queen.

An inclination in some of the clergy towards popery.

Dodwell's notions.

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after paradoxes in all his writings, and broached not a few ; he thought none could be saved, but those who, by the sacraments, had a federal right to it ; and that these were the seals of the covenant : so that he left all, who died without the sacraments, to the uncovenanted mercies of God ; and to this he added, that none had a right to give the sacraments, but those who were commissioned to it ; and these were the apostles, and after them bishops and priests ordained by them : it followed upon this, that sacraments administered by others were of no value. He pursued these notions so far, that he asserted that the souls of men were naturally mortal, but that the immortalizing virtue was conveyed by baptism, given by persons episcopally ordained. And yet, after all this, which carried the episcopal function so high, he did not lay the original of that government on any instruction or warrant in the scripture ; but thought it was set up in the beginning of the second century, after the apostles were all dead. He wrote very doubtfully of the time, in which the canon of the New Testament was settled ; he thought it was not before the second century, and that an extraordinary inspiration was continued in the churches to that very time, to which he ascribed the original of episcopacy. This strange and precarious system was in great credit among us ; and the necessity of the sacrament, and the invalidity of ecclesiastical functions, when performed by persons, who were not episcopally ordained, were entertained by many with great applause : this made the dissenters pass for no Christians, and put all thoughts of reconciling them to us far out of view : and several little books were spread about the nation to prove the necessity of re-baptizing them, and that they were in a state of damnation till that was done ; but few were, by these arguments, prevailed upon to be re-baptized : this struck even at the baptism by midwives in the church of Rome ; which was practised and connived at here in England, till it was objected in the conference, held at Hampton Court, soon after King James the First's accession to the crown, and baptism was not till then limited to persons in orders : nothing of this kind was so much as mentioned in the year 1660, when a great part of the nation had been baptized by dissenters : but it was now promoted with much heat.

The bishops thought it necessary to put a stop to this

new and extravagant doctrine; so a declaration was agreed to, first against the irregularity of all baptism by persons who were not in holy orders, but that yet, according to the practice of the primitive church, and the constant usage of the church of England, no baptism (in or with water, in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost) ought to be reiterated. The Archbishop of York at first agreed to this; so it was resolved to publish it, in the name of all the bishops of England; but he was prevailed on to change his mind; and refused to sign it, pretending that this would encourage irregular baptism: so the Archbishop of Canterbury, with most of the bishops of his province, resolved to offer it to the convocation. It was agreed to in the upper house, the Bishop of Rochester only dissenting: but when it was sent to the lower house, they would not so much as take it into consideration, but laid it aside, thinking that it would encourage those who struck at the dignity of the priesthood. This was all that passed in convocation.

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The bishops
designed to
condemn the
re-baptizing
dissenters.

But the
clergy did
not agree to
it.

The supplies demanded were given, in all about six millions; there were two lotteries of 1,800,000*l.* a piece, besides the four shillings in the pound, and the malt bill. A motion was made for a clause, to be put in one of the lottery bills, for a commission to inquire into the value and consideration of all the grants made by King William. The ministers apprehended the difficulty of carrying a money bill, with a tack to it, through the House of Lords; so they prevailed to get it separated from the money bill, and sent up in a particular one; and undertook to carry it. When it came up to the House of Lords, a great party was made against it; those who continued to pay a respect to the memory of King William, thought it was a very unbecoming return to him, who had delivered the nation from slavery and popery, to cast so particular an indignity on his grants: the bill made all its steps through the House of Lords to the last, with a small majority of one or two. The Earl of Nottingham was absent the first two days, but came to the House on the last; he said, he always thought those grants were too large, and very unseasonably made, but he thought there ought to be an equal way of proceeding in that matter; they ought either to resume them all, or to bring all concerned in them to an equal composition: he therefore could not approve of this bill, which, by a very clear conse-

Great sup-
plies given.

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quence, would put it in the power of a fellow-subject to resume or to cover grants at his pleasure; and so it would put the persons, concerned in the grants, into too great a dependance on him. At the last reading of the bill, seventy-eight, in person or by proxy, were for the bill, and as many were against it: the votes being equal, by the rule of the House, the negative carried it: so, for that time, the bill was lost.

During the session, reports were often given out, that all things were agreed, and that the treaty was as good as finished: but new stories were set on foot, and pretended delays, to put off the expectation of peace: however, in the end of May, we were surprised with letters from the camp, which told us, that the army of the allies being joined, was twenty-five thousand men stronger than the French; an advantage that they never had before during the whole course of the war: that Prince Eugene therefore proposed, that they should march towards the head of the Scheld, where the French army lay, and, upon their advancing, the French would be obliged either to venture on action or to retire; and in that case Cambray would be left open to the allies to sit down before it. The council of war agreed to this; but, to their great surprise, the Duke of Ormond shewed orders not to act offensively against the French; he seemed to be very uneasy with these orders, but said he must obey them. This was much resented by the whole army, and by the ministers of the allies at the Hague and at Utrecht: and it struck us here in England with amazement.

The Duke of Ormond ordered not to act offensively

Motions were made upon it in both houses of parliament; for it seemed we were neither to have peace nor war: so it was proposed, that an address should be made to the Queen, that she would set the Duke of Ormond at liberty to act in concurrence with the other generals, and carry on the war so as to obtain a good peace. Those who opposed this, asked what proofs they had of what was said concerning the Duke of Ormond's orders; they had only private letters, which were not produced: so it was said there was not ground enough to found an address upon, which ought not to be made on bare reports. The ministers would neither confess nor deny the matter, pretending the oath of secrecy; yet they affirmed the Duke of Ormond was at liberty to cover a siege.

That which prevailed in both houses to hinder the address was, that the ministers in both did affirm that the peace was agreed on, and would be laid before them in three or four days: it was upon that suggested that this must be a separate peace, since the allies knew nothing of it. The Lord Treasurer said, a separate peace was so base, so knavish, and so villanous a thing, that every one who served the Queen knew they must answer it with their heads to the nation; but it would appear to be a safe and a glorious peace, much more to the honour and interest of the nation, than the preliminaries that were agreed to three years before: he also affirmed that the allies knew of it, and were satisfied with it; so the motion fell, and all were in great expectation to see what a few days would produce. In order to this, it was proposed to examine into all the proceedings at the Hague, and at Gertruydenburgh, in the years 1709 and 1710: this was set on by a representation made by the Earl of Strafford, for he affirmed, in the House of Lords, that those matters had not been fairly represented: he said he had his information from one of the two who had been employed in those conferences: by this it was plain he meant Buys. Lord Townshend had informed the House, that those who had treated with the French at Gertruydenburgh did, at their return, give an account of their negotiation to the ministers of the allies, in the pensioner's presence, before they reported it to the states themselves: but upon this, the Earl of Strafford said, they had been first secretly with the pensioner, who directed them both what to say, and what to suppress. Upon this, the House made an address to the Queen, desiring her to lay before them all that passed at that time, and in that negotiation; but nothing followed upon this, for it was said to be designed only to amuse the House.

Surprises came at this time quick one after another. At Utrecht, on the 2d of June, N. S., the plenipotentiaries of the states expostulated with the Bishop of Bristol, upon the orders sent to the Duke of Ormond: he answered, he knew nothing of them; but said he had received a letter, two days before, from the Queen, in which she complained that, notwithstanding all the advances she had made, to engage the states to enter with her upon a plan of peace, they had not answered her as they ought, and as she hoped.

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A separate
peace dis-
owned by
the Lord
Treasurer.

At The Queen,
by the Bi-
shop of
Bristol, said
she was
free from all
her treaties
with the
states.

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they would have done: therefore she did now think herself at liberty to enter into separate measures, to obtain a peace for her own convenience. The plenipotentiaries said, this was contrary to all their alliances and treaties; they thought that, by the deference they had shewed her on all occasions, they had merited much better usage from her; they knew nothing of any advances made to them on a plan of peace. The Bishop replied, that, considering the conduct of the states, the Queen thought herself disengaged from all alliances and engagements with them: the Bishop did not in express words name the barrier treaty; but he did not except it: so they reckoned it was included in the general words he had used. This did not agree with what the Lord Treasurer had said in the House of Lords: and when the states' Envoy complained to him of these declarations made them by the Bishop, all the answer he made was, that he was certainly in a very bad humour when he talked at that rate.

The Queen
laid before
the parlia-
ment the
plan of the
peace.

On the 5th of June, the Queen came to the parliament, and told them on what terms a peace might be had. King Philip was to renounce the succession to the crown of France if it should devolve on him; and this was to execute itself, by putting the next to him into the succession: Sicily was to be separated from Spain, though it was not yet settled who should have it. The protestant succession was to be secured, and he who had pretended to the crown, was no more to be supported. Dunkirk was to be demolished, and Newfoundland to be delivered to England. Gibraltar and Port Mahon were to remain in our hands: we were also to have the *assiento*, a word importing the furnishing the Spanish West Indies with slaves from Africa. The Dutch were to have their barrier, except two or three places; and due regard would be had to all our allies.

Addresses
of both
houses upon
it.

Both houses agreed to make addresses of thanks to the Queen for communicating this plan to them, desiring her to finish it: an addition to these last words, "in conjunction with her allies," was moved in both houses, that so there might be a guarantee settled for the maintaining the terms of the treaty; but it was rejected by a great majority in both houses. It was said, in opposition to it, that it would subject the Queen and the whole treaty to the pleasure of the allies, who might prove backward and intractable: and

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since England had borne the greatest share of the burthen of the war, it was reasonable that the Queen should be the arbiter of the peace. On the other hand it was said, that if the allies did not enter into a guarantee, we must depend on the faith of the French, and be at their mercy; and so have nothing to trust to, but the promises of a court noted, in a course of many years, for a train of perfidy. But many had formed an obstinate resolution to get out of the war on any terms: so nothing that was offered, that seemed to obstruct the arriving speedily at that end, was heard with patience; and no regard was had to the faith of treaties: yet both houses observed one caution, not to express their being satisfied with the plan of the peace, though it was covertly insinuated. Mention was also made of our treaties with our allies, and of the protestant succession: the Lords, who had all along protested against the steps that the court had taken, entered the reasons of their protesting against the negative put on adding the words, "in conjunction with her allies," and on the former vote, concerning the orders sent to the Duke of Ormond: these carried in them such just and severe reflections on the ministry, as running the nation into an open breach of all public trust, and putting every thing into the hands of the French, that, by the strength of the majority, they were expunged: yet they were printed, and copies of them were sent over the nation; but nothing could break through that insensibility which had stupified the people. A new set of addresses ran about full of gross flattery, magnifying the present conduct, with severe reflections on the former ministry, which some carried back to King William's reign: some of these addresses mentioned the protestant succession, and the house of Hanover, with zeal; others did it more coldly; and some made no mention at all of it. And it was universally believed, that no addresses were so acceptable to the ministers as those of the last sort.

About the middle of June, the session of parliament came to an end: the Queen, in her speech, said, she was glad to find they approved of her scheme of peace, though that was in none of the addresses; many who intended to merit by their officious zeal, had indeed magnified it in both houses, but it was not in either of their addresses. The Earl of Strafford was again sent over to induce the states

The end of
the session
of parlia-
ment.

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The Duke
of Ormond
proclaims a
cessation of
arms, and
left Prince
Eugene's
army.

to accept the offers that the French were making, and to consent to a cessation of arms.

Prince Eugene ordered Quesnoy to be besieged; and he, in conjunction with the Duke of Ormond, covered the siege; but when the place was so straitened, that it could not hold out above two or three days, the Duke of Ormond sent Prince Eugene word, that he had orders to proclaim a cessation of arms for two months. Prince Eugene disagreeing to this, he signified his orders to all the German troops that were in the Queen's pay: but the states and the Emperor had foreseen that this might happen, and had negotiated so effectually with the princes, to whom these troops belonged, that they had sent orders to their generals to continue with Prince Eugene, and to obey his command. This they represented to the Duke of Ormond, and he upon that told them, they should neither have bread nor pay, nor their arrears, if they refused to obey his orders: this last seemed unjust, since they had served hitherto according to agreement; so that their arrears could not be detained with any colour of justice. Quesnoy capitulated, and the garrison were made prisoners of war. It was said, that the court of France had promised to put Dunkirk in the Queen's hands, as a sure pledge of performing all that that they had stipulated, in order to a general peace: this was executed in the beginning of July, and a body of our troops, with a squadron of ships, were sent to take possession of the place. The Duke of Ormond made a second attempt on the generals of the German troops, to see if they would agree to the cessation of arms; but they excused themselves upon the orders they had received from their masters: so he proclaimed the cessation at the head of the English troops, upon which he separated himself from Prince Eugene's army, and retired to Ghent and Bruges, possessing himself of them. The fortified places, near the frontier, had orders to let the officers pass through, but not to suffer the troops to possess themselves of them. The withdrawing the English forces in this manner from the confederate army was censured, not only as a manifest breach of faith and of treaties, but as treacherous in the highest and basest degree. The Duke of Ormond had given the states such assurances of his going along with them through the whole campaign, that he was let into the

Quesnoy
taken.

secrets of all their counsels, which, by that confidence, were all known to the French: and, if the auxiliary German troops had not been prepared to disobey his orders, it was believed he, in conjunction with the French army, would have forced the states to come into new measures. But that was happily prevented. Yet all this conduct of our general was applauded at home as great, just, and wise; and our people were led to think it a kind of triumph, upon Dunkirk's being put into our hands, not considering that we had more truly put ourselves into the hands of the French, by this open breach of faith; after which, the confederates could no longer trust or depend on us. Nor was this only the act of the court and ministry, but it became the act of the nation, which, by a general voice, did not only approve of it, but applaud it.

Prince Eugene's next attempt was upon Landrecy, in which it seemed probable that he would succeed; but this prospect, and indeed the whole campaign, had a fatal reverse. There was a body of eight or ten thousand men posted at Denain, on the Scheld, commanded by the Earl of Albemarle, to secure the conveying bread and ammunition to the army, and to the siege. Villars made a motion as if he designed to give Prince Eugene battle; but after a feint that way, he turned quick upon this body, that lay on both sides of the river, with only one bridge of pontoons: the rest had been sent to the siege of Landrecy, and there was not a supply of more brought. That bridge, with the weight that was on it, broke; so the bodies could not be joined. But military men assured me, that if it had not been for that misfortune, Villars's attempt might have turned fatally on himself, and to the ruin of his whole army. But in conclusion, he gave them a total defeat, and so made himself master of those posts which they were to defend. This opened a new scene; it not only forced the raising the siege of Landrecy, but gave Villars an occasion to sieze on Marchiennes, and some other places, where he found great stores of artillery and ammunition, and furnished him likewise with an opportunity of sitting down before Doway. What errors were committed, either in the counsels or orders, or in the execution of them, and at whose door these ought to be laid, is far above my understanding in military matters; but be that as it will, this

Landrecy
besieged.

A great loss
at Denain
brought a
reverse on
the cam-
paign.

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misfortune served not a little to raise the Duke of Marlborough's character, under whose command no such thing had ever happened. The effects of this disgrace were great; Doway was taken, after a long and brave defence; Prince Eugene tried to raise the siege, but did not succeed in it. Indeed, the states would not put things to so great a venture, after such a loss; the garrison were made prisoners of war. Quesnoy was next besieged; the great artillery that had been employed in the siege were left in the place: the garrison improved that advantage; so that the taking it cost the enemy very dear.

Distractions
at the
Hague.

These losses created a great distraction in the counsels at the Hague; many were inclined to accept of a cessation; the Emperor and the princes of the empire made great offers to the states, to persuade them to continue the war; at the same time, the French grew very insolent on their successes, and took occasion, from a quarrel between the footmen of one of the Dutch plenipotentiaries and one of theirs, to demand an extravagant reparation; which the Dutch not complying with, a full stop was put to all proceedings at Utrecht for some months. Our court took some pains to remove that obstruction; but the French King's pride being now again in exaltation, he was intractable. St. John, being made Viscount Bolingbroke, was sent over with secret instructions to the court of France, where, as it was believed, the peace was fully concluded: but all that was published upon his return was a new cessation of arms, both by sea and land, for four months longer. Duke Hamilton was named to go ambassador to France, and Lord Lexington to Spain. The Earl of Strafford continued to press the states to come into the Queen's measures, which it was said he managed with great imperiousness. The states resolved to offer their plan to the Queen, in which they pressed the restoring Strasburgh to the empire, to have Valenciennes demolished, and Condé added to their barrier, and that the old tariff for trade should be again restored.

The renun-
ciation of
the succes-
sions in
Spain and
France.

The Lord Lexington went first to Spain, where the cortes were summoned, in which that King did solemnly renounce, for himself and his heirs, the right of succession to the crown of France, and limited the succession to the crown of Spain, after his own posterity, to the house of

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Savoy. The like renunciation was made some months after that, by the princes of France to the crown of Spain; and Philip was declared incapable of succeeding to the crown of France. It was something strange to see so much weight laid on these renunciations, since the King of France had so often, and so solemnly declared (upon his claiming, in the right of his Queen, the Spanish Netherlands, when the renunciation made by his Queen before the marriage, pursuant to the treaty of the Pyrenees, of all rights of succession to her father's dominions, was objected to him) that no renunciation, which was but a civil act, could destroy the rights of blood, founded on the laws of nature: but this was now forgot, or very little considered. At this time the Order of the Garter had nine vacant stalls, so six knights were at one time promoted, the Dukes of Beaufort, Hamilton, and Kent, and the Earls of Oxford, Powlet, and Strafford. The Duke of Hamilton's being appointed to go to the court of France, gave melancholy speculations to those who thought him much in the Pretender's interest; he was considered, not only in Scotland, but here in England, as the head of his party: but a dismal accident put an end to his life, a few days before he intended to have set out on his embassy.

He and the Lord Mohun were engaged in some suits of law; and a violent hatred was kindled between them: so that, upon a very high provocation, the Lord Mohun sent him a challenge, which he tried to decline; but, both being hurried by those false points of honour, they fatally went out to Hyde Park, in the middle of November, and fought with so violent an animosity, that neglecting the rules of art, they seemed to run on one another, as if they tried who should kill first; in which they were both so unhappily successful, that the Lord Mohun was killed outright, and Duke Hamilton died in a few minutes after. I will add no character of him: I am sorry I cannot say so much good of him as I could wish, and I had too much kindness for him to say any evil without necessity. Nor shall I make any reflections on the deplorable effect of those unchristian and barbarous maxims, which have prevailed so universally, that there is little hope left of seeing them rooted out of the minds of men; the false notions of honour and cou-

Duke of Hamilton and Lord Mohun both killed in a combat.

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rage being too strong to be weighed down by prudent or religious considerations.

The Duke of Shrewsbury sent to France, and Duke de Aumont came to England.

The Duke of Shrewsbury was, upon Duke Hamilton's death, named for the embassy to France, and went over in the end of December: the same yacht that carried him to Calais, brought over the Duke de Aumont, the French ambassador, who was a good-natured and generous man, of profuse expense, throwing handfuls of money often out of his coach, as he went about the streets: he was not thought a man of business, and seemed to employ himself chiefly, in maintaining the dignity of his character, and making himself acceptable to the nation. I turn next to foreign affairs.

The affairs in the north.

The war in Pomerania went on but slowly, though the Czar and the Kings of Denmark and Poland joined their forces; upon which it was thought, the interest of Sweden must have sunk in those parts: but the feebleness of one or other of those princes lost them great advantages. Steinbock, the Swedish general, seeing the Danes were separated from their allies, made a quick march toward them; and though the Saxons had joined them before he came up, yet he attacked them. The action was hot, and lasted some hours; but it ended in a complete victory on the Swedish side. At the same time the Swedes were animated by reports from Constantinople, which gave them hopes of the war between the Turks and the Czar being like to break out again, which the King of Sweden continued to solicit, and in which he had all the assistance that the French could give him.

The Emperor prepares for the war with France.

This gave the Emperor great apprehensions that disorders in Hungary might follow upon it, which would defeat the measures he had taken to settle matters in that kingdom; so that being safe on that side, he might turn his whole force against France, and by that means, encourage the states to continue the war. Those in Holland, who pressed the accepting the offers that France made them, represented that as a thing not possible to be supported: the promises of the Emperor and the princes of the empire had so often failed them, that they said, they could not be relied on; and the distractions in the north, made them apprehend that those princes might be obliged to recal their troops, which were in the service of the states.

The Earl of Strafford was sent back to the Hague with the French plan, which came to be called the Queen's plan: but to draw them in the more, he was ordered to enter upon a new barrier treaty with them, by which the former was to be set aside: by it, the states were to maintain the succession to the crown, when required to it by the Queen, but not otherwise. This gave still new occasions for jealousy; for whereas, by the former treaty, they were strictly bound to maintain the succession, so that they were obliged to oppose any attempts they saw made against it; they were by this treaty obliged to stay till they were sent to; and if our ministers should come to entertain ill designs that way, they would take care no notice should be given to the states. The barrier for the Dutch came far short of the former; the states wrote another letter to the Queen, desiring her to interpose, for restoring Strasburgh to the empire, for adding Condé to their barrier, and for settling the commerce on the foot of the antient tariff; as also for obtaining more reasonable terms for the Emperor: but things were so fixed between the court of France and ours, that there was no room for intercession.

The Earl of Godolphin died of the stone in September: he was the man of the clearest head, the calmest temper, and the most incorrupt of all the ministers of state I have ever known. After having been thirty years in the Treasury, and during nine of those, lord treasurer, as he was never once suspected of corruption, or of suffering his servants to grow rich under him, so in all that time his estate was not increased by him to the value of 4000*l*. He served the Queen with such a particular affection and zeal, that he studied to possess all people with great personal esteem for her; and she herself seemed to be so sensible of this for many years, that if courts were not different from all other places in the world, it might have been thought, that his wise management at home, and the Duke of Marlborough's glorious conduct abroad, would have fixed them in their posts; above the little practices of an artful favourite, and the cunning of a man, who has not hitherto shewed any token of a great genius, and is only eminent in the arts of deluding those that hearken to him.

Upon the Earl of Godolphin's death, the Duke of Marlborough resolved to go and live beyond sea; he executed

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A new barrier treaty with the states.

The death of the Earl of Godolphin. His character.

The Duke of Marlborough went

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to live be-
yond sea.

it in the end of November; and his Dutchesse followed him in the beginning of February. This was variously censured;—some pretended it was the giving up and abandoning the concerns of his country; and they represented it as the effect of fear, with too anxious a care to secure himself: others were glad he was safe out of ill hands; whereby, if we should fall into the convulsions of a civil war, he would be able to assist the Elector of Hanover, as being so entirely beloved and confided in by all our military men; whereas, if he had staid in England, it was not to be doubted, but, upon the least shadow of suspicion, he would have been immediately secured; whereas now he would be at liberty, being beyond sea, to act as there might be occasion for it.

There were two suits begun against him; the one was for the two and a half per cent., that the foreign princes were content should be deducted for contingencies, of which an account was formerly given: the other was, for arrears due to the builders of Blenheim House. The Queen had given orders for building it with great magnificence; all the bargains with the workmen were made in her name, and by authority from her; and in the preambles of the acts of parliament, that confirmed the grant of Woodstock to him and his heirs, it was said the Queen built the house for him: yet now, that the tradesmen were let run into an arrear of 30,000*l.*, the Queen refused to pay any more; and set them upon suing the Duke of Marlborough for it, though he had never contracted with any of them: upon his going beyond sea, both those suits were staid, which gave occasion to people to imagine, that the ministry, being disturbed to see so much public respect put on a man, whom they had used so ill, had set these prosecutions on foot, only to render his stay in England uneasy to him.

We possess
Dunkirk in
a very pre-
carious
manner.

Our army continued this winter about Ghent and Bruges; and we kept a sort of garrison in Dunkirk: but that was so ill supplied with artillery and ammunition, that it was visible they were not in a condition to keep the place any longer than the French were willing to let them stay in it. And during that time, they were neither allowed to have a place to worship God, nor to bury their dead in, though by a mortality that raged there, some thousands died. Our ministers continued still to press the states and the Empe-

ror to come into the Queen's measures; the Emperor, on some occasions, talked in a very positive strain, as if he was resolved to put all to hazard, rather than submit to such hard conditions; but the apprehensions of a war in the neighbourhood of Hungary, and the low state of his treasure, forced him to come down from that height, and engage the states to procure better terms for him: the demand of Strasburgh was rejected by the French, with so positive an air, that our court did not move in it more; nor did it appear that we obtained any one condition of the French, but what was offered in their own project.

In conclusion, the states were forced to yield in every particular; and then our ministers, to give some seeming content to the nation, and to bring the states into some confidence with them, ordered the new barrier treaty to be signed; and it was given out by their creatures, that the French were highly offended at their signing this; making it previous to a general peace, and a sort of guarantee for it. Thus, after all the declamations that were made on the first barrier treaty, the ministers came into a new one, which though not so secure as the former, yet was liable to all the objections that were made against that. The French, as we were assured, in the progress of the treaty, used all that course of chicane, for which they have been so long famous; and, after all the steps our court had made to get them a treaty of their own projecting, we were not at last able to gain any one point upon them: they seemed to reckon, that now we had put ourselves in their hands, and that they might use us as they pleased.

A proclamation was set out in the end of November, giving notice that the session of parliament would be opened on the 13th of January: but though the proroguing the parliament, after such a proclamation, was without a precedent, yet we were put off by seven prorogations, some for a fortnight, and some for three weeks: it was said, we were daily expecting a sudden conclusion of the treaty; and till all was finished, the ministers could not know what aids were to be demanded. What occasioned all these delays is yet a secret to me; so I can write nothing of it. Many expresses were sent to Vienna, and the returns to those could not come quick. The demands for restoring the Electors of Bavaria and Cologne, together with

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The barrier treaty signed.

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Seven prorogations of parliament.

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a compensation for their losses, were insisted on. The Emperor could not do the former of these without the diet, by whose authority they were put under the imperial ban: but neither the Emperor nor diet could answer the other demand, it rose so high.

Affairs of
Sweden.

While we were at home uneasy at the many prorogations and delays, the news from beyond sea opened a new scene. The Swedes broke into Holstein, but were so closely followed by the Danes and Muscovites, that their retreat by land was cut off, and the Danish ships shut them from the Baltic Sea: they made great waste in the King of Denmark's share of Holstein, and burnt Altena, a great and rich village, within a mile of Hamburgh, which being an open place, in no sort fortified, the burning it was thought contrary to the laws of war.

The King of
Prussia's
death.

The King of Prussia died in February: he was, in his own person, a virtuous man, and full of zeal in the matters of religion; he raised above two hundred new churches in his dominions; he was weak, and much in the power of his ministers and flatterers; but was so apt to hearken to whispers, that he changed twice the whole set of his ministry: his assuming the title of a king, and his affecting an extraordinary magnificence in his court, brought a great charge on himself, and on all about him, which made him a severe master to his subjects, and set him on many pretensions, chiefly those relating to the Prince of Frizeland, which were not thought well grounded. He was succeeded in his dignity by his son, who had hitherto appeared to affect a roughness of behaviour, and seemed fond of his grenadiers, not only beyond all other military men, but beyond all men whatsoever: he seemed to have a warlike inclination; but what he will prove, now that he is on the throne, must be left to time.

The King of
Sweden's
misfortunes.

The appearances of a new war between the Turks and the Czar varied so often, that it was doubtful in what it might end: the King of Sweden used all possible means to engage the Turk in it; but he threw himself, by his intractable obstinacy, into great dangers: the party at the Porte that opposed the war, studied to get rid of that King, and of his importunities. Orders were sent him to march back into his kingdom; and they undertook to procure him a safe passage to it; but he treated the person that

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was sent with this message, with great insolence, and fortified himself, as well as he could, with the Swedes that were about him, and resolved to defend himself. A force, much superior to his, was brought against him; but he maintained himself so resolutely in his house, that some hundreds of those who attacked him were killed: the Turks upon that set fire to the house, whereupon he was forced to surrender, and was put under a guard; and most of his Swedes were sold for slaves: he was carried to a house near Adrianople, but not suffered to come to court: only the Sultan disowned the violence used to his person. In the meanwhile, the Czar shipped an army from Petersburg, that landed in Finland: the Swedes were not able to stand before him; every place, as he advanced, submitted to him; and he was now master of Abo, the capital of Finland, and of that whole province. Steinbock, with his army, maintained himself in Tonningen as long as their provision lasted: but, all supplies being carefully stopped, he was forced at last to deliver up himself and his army prisoners of war; and these were the best troops the Swedes had, so that Sweden was struck with a general consternation: to this distracted state has that furious prince abandoned his own kingdom. And there I must leave it, to return to our own affairs.

After a long expectation, we at last knew, that, on the 13th of March, the treaty of peace between England, France, and the states was signed: upon this, the parliament was opened on the 9th of April. The Queen, in her speech, told the two houses, that she had now concluded a peace, and had obtained a further security for the protestant succession, and that she was in an entire union with the house of Hanover; she asked of the Commons the necessary supplies, and recommended to both houses the cultivating the arts of peace, with a reflection upon faction. Upon this speech, a debate arose in the House of Lords, concerning some words that were moved to be put in the address (which, of course, was to be made to the Queen), applauding the conditions of the peace, and the security for the protestant succession: this was opposed, since we did not yet know what the conditions of the peace were, nor what that security was; all that appeared was, that the Pretender was gone out of France into the Barrois, a part

The treaties signed, and the session of parliament opened.

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of Lorraine, for which that Duke did homage to the crown of France. An address of congratulation was agreed to, but without any approbation of the peace. The House of Commons observed the same caution in their address. But, upon this, a new set of addresses ran through the nation, in the usual strains of flattery and false eloquence. The parliament sat above a month, before the articles of peace, and of a treaty of commerce, made at the same time, were laid before them. It was given out, that till the ratifications were exchanged, it was not proper to publish them; but when that was done, they were communicated to both houses, and printed.

The substance of the treaties of peace and commerce.

By the treaty of peace, the French King was bound to give neither harbour nor assistance to the Pretender, but acknowledged the Queen's title and the protestant succession, as it was settled by several acts of parliament: Dunkirk was to be razed in a time limited, within five months after the ratifications; but that was not to be begun till an equivalent for it was put in the hands of France. Newfoundland, Hudson's Bay, and St. Christopher's, were to be given to England; but Cape Breton was left to the French, with a liberty to dry their fish on Newfoundland: this was the main substance of the articles of peace. The treaty of commerce settled a free trade, according to the tariff in the year 1664, excepting some commodities, that were subjected to a new tariff, in the year 1699, which was so high, that it amounted to a prohibition: all the productions of France were to come into England under no other duties, but those that were laid on the same productions from other countries; and when this was settled, then commissaries were to be sent to London, to agree and adjust all matters relating to trade: the treaty of commerce with Spain was not yet finished. As for the allies, Portugal and Savoy were satisfied; the Emperor was to have the dutchy of Milan, the kingdom of Naples, and the Spanish Netherlands: Sicily was to be given to the Duke of Savoy, with the title of king: and Sardinia with the same title, was to be given to the Elector of Bavaria, in lieu of his losses: the states were to deliver up Lisle, and the little places about it: and, besides the places of which they were already possessed, they were to have Namur, Charleroy, Luxembourg, Ypres, and Newport: the King of Prussia was to

have the Upper Guelder, in lieu of Orange, and the other estates, which the family had in Franche Comté: this was all that I think necessary to insert here, with relation to our treaty: the Emperor was to have time to the 1st of June, to declare his accepting of it. It did not appear what equivalent the King of France was to have for Dunkirk; no mention was made of it in the treaty; so the House of Commons made an address to the Queen, desiring to know what that equivalent was. Some weeks passed before they had an answer; at last the Queen, by a message, said, the French King had that equivalent already in his own hands; but we were still in the dark as to that, no further explanation being made of it. As to Newfoundland, it was thought that the French settling at Cape Breton, instead of Placentia, would be of great advantage to them with relation to the fishery, which is the only thing that makes settlements in those parts of any value. The English have always pretended, that the first discovery of Newfoundland being made in Henry the Seventh's time, the right to it was in the crown of England. The French had leave given them, in King Charles the First's time, to fish there, paying tribute, as an acknowledgment of that license: it is true, they carried this much further, during the civil wars; and this grew to a much greater height in the reign of King Charles the Second: but in King William's time, an act of parliament passed, asserting the right of the crown to Newfoundland, laying open the trade thither, to all the subjects of Great Britain, with a positive and constant exclusion of all aliens and foreigners. These were the reflections on the treaty of peace; but there were more important objections made to the treaty of commerce. During King Charles the Second's reign, our trade with France was often and loudly complained of, as very prejudicial to the nation; there was a commission appointed in the year 1674, to adjust the conditions of our commerce with that nation, and then it appeared, in a scheme that was prepared by very able merchants, that we lost every year a million of money by our trade thither. This was then so well received, that the scheme was entered into the journals of both houses of parliament, and into the books of the Custom House: but the court, at that time, favoured the interests of France so much, preferably to their own, that the trade went still on till the

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year 1678, when the parliament laid, upon all French commodities, such a duty as amounted to a prohibition, and was to last for three years, and to the end of the next session of parliament: at the end of the three years, King Charles called no more parliaments; and that act was repealed in King James's parliament: but, during the whole last war, high duties were laid on all the productions and manufactures of France; which, by this treaty, were to be no higher charged, than the same productions from other countries. It was said, that if we had been as often beat by the French, as they had been by us, this would have been thought a very hard treaty; and if the articles of our commerce had been settled, before the Duke of Ormond was ordered to separate his troops from the confederates, the French could not have pretended to draw us into such terms, as they had insisted on since that time, because we put ourselves into their power. We were engaged by our treaty with Portugal, that their wines should be charged a third part lower than the French wines; but if the duties were, according to this treaty of commerce, to be made equal, then considering the difference of freight, which is more than double from Portugal, the French wines would be much cheaper; and the nation generally liking them better, by this means we should not only break our treaties with Portugal, but if we did not take off their wines, we must lose their trade, which was at present the most advantageous, that we drove any where; for besides a great vent of our manufactures, we brought over yearly great returns of gold from thence; 4, 5, and 600,000*l.* a year. We had brought the silk manufacture here to so great perfection, that about three hundred thousand people were maintained by it. For carrying this on, we brought great quantities of silk from Italy and Turkey, by which people in those countries came to take off as great quantities of our manufactures: so that our demand for silk had opened good markets for our woollen goods abroad; which must fail if our manufacture of silk at home should be lost: which, if once we gave a free vent for silk stuffs from France among us, must soon be the case; since the cheapness of provisions, and of labour in France, would enable the French to undersell us, even at our own markets. Our linen and paper manufacturers would likewise be ruined by

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a free importation of the same goods from France. These things came to be so generally well understood, that even while flattering addresses were coming to court from all the parts of the islands, petitions came from the towns and counties concerned in trade, setting forth the prejudice they apprehended from this treaty of commerce. The ministers used all possible arts to bear this clamour down; they called it faction, and decried it with a boldness that would have surprised any but those who had observed the methods they had taken for many years, to vent the foulest calumnies, and the falsest misrepresentations possible; but the matter came to be so universally apprehended, that it could not be disguised.

The House of Commons gave an aid of two shillings in the pound, though the ministers hoped to have carried it higher; but the members durst not venture on that, since a new election was soon to follow the conclusion of the session. They went next to renew the duty on malt for another year; and here a debate arose that was kept up some days in both houses of parliament, whether it should be laid on the whole island; it was carried in the affirmative, of which the Scots complained heavily, as a burden that their country could not bear: and whereas it was said, that those duties ought to be laid equally on all the subjects of the united kingdom, the Scots insisted on an article of the union, by which it was stipulated, that no duty should be laid on the malt in Scotland during the war, which ought to be observed religiously. They said, it was evident, the war with Spain was not yet ended; no peace with that crown was yet proclaimed, nor so much as signed: and, though it was as good as made, and was every day expected, yet it was a maxim in the construction of all laws, that odious matters ought to be strictly understood; whereas matters of favour were to be more liberally interpreted. It was farther said on the Scotch side, that this duty was, by the very words of the act, to be applied to deficiencies during the war; so this act was, upon the matter, making Scotland pay that duty during the war, from which the articles of the union did by express words exempt them. A great number of the English were convinced of the equity of these grounds that the Scots went on; but the majority was on the other side: so when the bill had pass-

Aid given
by the Com-
mons.

The Scots
oppose their
being charg-
ed with the
duty on
malt.

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And moved
to have the
union dis-
solved.

ed through the House of Commons, all the Scots of both houses met together, and agreed to move for an act dissolving the union. They went first to the Queen, and told her how grievous and indeed intolerable this duty would be to their country, so that they were under a necessity to try how the union might be broken. The Queen seemed uneasy at the motion; she studied to divert them from it, and assured them that her officers should have orders to make it easy to them. This was understood to imply that the duty should not be levied; but they knew this could not be depended on; so the motion was made in the House of Lords, and most of the lords of that nation spoke to it: they set forth all the hardships that they lay under since the union; they had no more a council in Scotland; their peers at present were the only persons in the whole island, that were judged incapable of peerage by descent; their laws were altered in matters of the highest importance, particularly in matters of treason; and now an imposition was to be laid on their malt, which must prove an intolerable burden to the poor of that country, and force them to drink water: upon all these reasons they moved for liberty to bring in a bill to dissolve the union, in which they would give full security for maintaining the Queen's prerogative, and for securing the protestant succession. This was opposed with much zeal by the ministers, but was supported by others; who, though they did not intend to give up the union, yet thought it reasonable to give a hearing to this motion, that they might see how far the protestant succession could be secured, in case it should be entertained; but the majority were for rejecting the motion. When the malt bill was brought up to the Lords, there was such an opposition made to it, that fifty-six voted against it; but sixty-four were for it, and so it passed.

A bill for
rendering
the treaty of
commerce
with France
effectual.

The matter of the greatest consequence in this session, was a bill for settling the commerce with France according to the treaty, and for taking off the prohibitions and high duties that were laid on the productions of France. The traders in the city of London, and those in all the other parts of England were alarmed with the great prejudice this would bring on the whole nation. The Turkey Company, those that traded to Portugal and Italy, and all

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who were concerned in the woollen and silk manufactures appeared before both houses, and set forth the great mischief that a commerce with France, on the foot of the treaty, would bring upon the nation; while none appeared on the other side to answer their arguments, or to set forth the advantage of such a commerce. It was manifest that none of the trading bodies had been consulted in it; and the commissioners for trade and plantations had made very material observations on the first project, which was sent to them for their opinion: and afterwards, when this present project was formed, it was also transmitted to that board by the Queen's order, and they were required to make their remarks on it: but Arthur Moor, who had risen up from being a footman, without any education, to be a great dealer in trade, and was the person of that board in whom the Lord Treasurer confided most, moved, that they might first read it every one a part, and then debate it; and he desired to have the first perusal; so he took it away and never brought it back to them; but gave it to the Lord Bolingbroke, who carried it to Paris, and there it was settled. The bill was very feebly maintained by those who argued for it; yet the majority went with the bill till the last day; and then the opposition to it was so strong, that the ministers seemed inclined to let it fall; but it was not then known whether this was only a feint, or whether the instances of the French ambassador, and the engagements that our ministers were under to that court, prevailed for carrying it on. It was brought to the last step; and then a great many of those, who had hitherto gone along with the court, broke from them in this matter, and bestirred themselves so effectually, that when it came to the last division, one hundred and eighty-five were for the bill, and one hundred and ninety-four were against it: by so small a majority was a bill of such great importance lost. But the House of Commons, to soften the ill constructions that might be made of their rejecting this bill, made an address to the Queen, in which they thanked her for the peace she had concluded, and for the foundation laid for settling our commerce; and prayed her to name commissaries to regulate and finish that matter.

To this the Queen sent an answer of a singular composition. She said she was glad to see they were so well

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pleased with the treaty of peace and commerce that she had made, and assured them that she would use her best endeavours to see all the advantages that she had stipulated for her subjects, performed. This was surprising, since the House of Commons had sufficiently shewed how little they were pleased with the treaty of commerce, by their rejecting the bill that was offered to confirm it; and this was insinuated in their address itself: but it was pleasantly said, that the Queen answered them according to what ought to have been in their address, and not according to what was in it; besides it was observable, that her promise to maintain what was already stipulated, did not at all answer the prayer of their address. This was all that passed in this session of parliament with relation to the peace. It was once apprehended that the ministers would have moved for an act, or at least for an address approving the peace; and upon that I prepared a speech, which I intended to make on the subject. It was the only speech that I ever prepared beforehand; but since that matter was never brought into the House, I had no occasion to make it; yet I think proper to insert it here, that I may deliver down my thoughts of this great transaction to posterity.

A speech I prepared when the approbation of the peace should be moved in the House of Lords.

“My Lords.—This matter now before you, as it is of the greatest importance, so it may be seen in very different lights; I will not meddle with the political view of it; I leave that to persons who can judge and speak of it much better than I can. I will only offer to you what appears to me, when I consider it, with relation to the rules of morality and religion; in this I am sure I act within my proper sphere. Some things stick so with me, that I could have no quiet in my conscience, nor think I had answered the duty of my function if I did not make use of the freedom of speech, that our constitution and the privileges of this House allow me: I am the more encouraged to do this, because the bringing those of our order into public councils, in which we have now such a share, was originally intended for this very end, that we should offer such considerations, as arise from the rules of our holy religion, in all matters that may come before us. In the opening my sense of things, I may be forced to use some words that may perhaps appear severe: I cannot help it, if the nature

of these affairs is such, that I cannot speak plainly of them in a softer strain. I intend not to reflect on any person; and I am sure I have such a profound respect for the Queen, that no part of what I may say can be understood to reflect on her in any sort; her intentions are, no doubt, as she declares them to be, all for the good and happiness of her people; but it is not to be supposed that she can read long treaties, or carry the articles of them in her memory: so if things have been either concealed from her, or misrepresented to her, she can do no wrong; and, if any such thing has been done, we know on whom our constitution lays the blame.

“ The treaties that were made some years ago with our allies are in print; both the grand alliance, and some subsequent ones: we see many things in these that are not provided for by this peace; it was, in particular, stipulated, that no peace should be treated, much less concluded, without the consent of the allies. But, before I make any observations on this, I must desire you will consider how sacred a thing the public faith, that is engaged in treaties and alliances, should be esteemed.

“ I hope I need not tell you, that even heathen nations valued themselves upon their fidelity in a punctual observing of all their treaties, and with how much infamy they branded the violation of them: if we consider that which revealed religion teaches us to know, that man was made after the image of God, the God of all truth, as we know who is the father of lies; God hates the deceitful man, in whose mouth there is no faithfulness. In that less perfect religion of the Jews, when the Gibeonites had, by a fraudulent proceeding, drawn Joshua and the Israelites into a league with them, it was sacredly observed; and the violation of it, some ages after, was severely punished. And, when the last of the kings of Judah shook off the fidelity, to which he had bound himself to the king of Babylon, the prophet thereupon said with indignation, shall he break the oath of God and prosper? The swearing deceitfully is one of the worst characters; and he who swears to his own hurt, and changes not, is among the best. It is a maxim of the wisest of kings, that the throne is established by righteousness. Treaties are of the nature of oaths; and when an oath is asked to confirm a treaty, it is never de-

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nied. The best account that I can give of the disuse of adding that sacred seal to treaties is this :

“ The popes had for some ages possessed themselves of a power, to which they had often recourse, of dissolving the faith of treaties, and the obligation of oaths : the famous, but fatal story of Ladislaus, king of Hungary, breaking his faith to Amurath, the Turk, by virtue of a papal dispensation, is well known. One of the last public acts of this sort was, when Pope Clement the Seventh absolved Francis the First, from the treaty made and sworn to at Madrid, while he was a prisoner there : the severe revenge that Charles the Fifth took of this, in the sack of Rome, and in keeping that Pope for some months a prisoner, has made popes more cautious since that time than they were formerly : this also drew such heavy but just reproaches on the papacy, from the reformers, that some stop seems now to be put to such a barefaced protection of perjury. But the late King told me, that he understood from the German protestant princes, that they believed the confessors of popish princes had faculties from Rome for doing this as effectually, though more secretly : he added, that they knew it went for a maxim among popish princes, that their word and faith bound them as they were men and members of society ; but that their oaths, being acts of religion, were subject to the direction of their confessors ; and that they, apprehending this, did, in all their treaties with the princes of that religion depend upon their honour, but never asked the confirmation of an oath, which had been the practice of former ages. The protestants of France thought they had gained an additional security for observing the edict of Nantes, when the swearing to observe it was made a part of the coronation oath. But, it is probable, this very thing undermined and ruined it.

“ Grotius, Puffendorf, and others who have wrote of the law of nations, lay this down for a rule, that the nature of a treaty, and the tie that arises out of it, is not altered by the having or not having an oath ; the oath serves only to heighten the obligation. They do also agree in this, that confederacies do not bind states to carry on a war to their utter ruin ; but that princes and states are bound to use their utmost efforts in maintaining them : and it is agreed by all who have treated of these matters, that the common

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enemy, by offering to any one confederate all his pretensions, cannot justify his departing from the confederacy ; because it was entered into with that view, that all the pretensions upon which the confederacy was made, should be insisted on or departed from by common consent.

“ It is true, that in confederacies where allies are bound to the performance of several articles, as to their quotas or shares, if any one fails in the part he was bound to, the other confederates have a right to demand a reparation for his non-performance : but even in that case, allies are to act as friends, by making allowances for what could not be helped ; and not as enemies, by taking advantages on design to disengage them from their allies. It is certain, allies forfeit their right to the alliance if they do not perform their part ; but the failure must be evident, and an expostulation must be first made : and if, upon satisfaction demanded, it is not given, then a protestation should be made of such non-performance ; and the rest of the confederates are at liberty, as to him who fails on his part : these are reckoned among the customs and laws of nations ; and since nothing of this kind has been done, I cannot see how it can be made out that the tie of the confederacy, and by consequence, that the public faith has not been first broken on our side.

“ My Lords.—I cannot reconcile the carrying on a treaty with the French, without the knowledge and concurrence of the other confederate states and princes, and the concluding it, without the consent of the Emperor, the principal confederate, not to mention the visible uneasiness that has appeared in the others who seem to have been forced to consent by declarations, if not by threatenings, from hence : I say, I cannot reconcile this with the articles of the grand alliance, and the other later treaties that are in print. This seems to come within the charge of the prophet against those who deal treacherously with those who had not dealt treacherously with them ; upon which, the threatening that follows may be justly apprehended. It will have a strange sound among all Christians, but more particularly among the reformed, when it is reported that the plenipotentiary of the head of the reformed princes, said openly to the other plenipotentiaries, that the Queen held herself free from all her treaties and alliances : if this be set for a pro-

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cedent, here is a short way of dispensing with the public faith; and if this was spoken by one of our prelates, I am afraid it will leave a heavy reproach on our church; and, to speak freely, I am afraid it will draw a much heavier curse after it. My Lords, there is a God in heaven, who will judge all the world, without respect of persons; nothing can prosper without his blessing: he can blast all the counsels of men, when laid in fraud and deceit, how cunningly soever they may be either contrived or disguised: and I must think that a peace made, in opposition to the express words of so many treaties, will prove a curse instead of a blessing to us. God is provoked by such proceedings to pour heavy judgments on us, for the violation of a faith so often given which is so openly broken; by this our nation is dishonoured, and our church disgraced; and I dread to think what the consequence of those things is like to prove. I would not have expressed myself in such a manner, if I had not thought that I was bound to it by the duty that I owe to Almighty God, by my zeal for the Queen, and the church, and by my love to my country. Upon so great an occasion, I think my post in the church and in this House lays me under the strictest obligations to discharge my conscience, and to speak plainly without fear or flattery, let the effect of it, as to myself, be what it will: I shall have the more quiet in my own mind, both living and dying, for having done that which seemed to me an indispensable duty.

“I hope this House will not bring upon themselves and the nation, the blame and guilt of approving that which seems to be much more justly censurable: the reproach that may belong to this treaty, and the judgments of God that may follow on it, are now what a few only are concerned in. A national approbation is a thing of another nature, the public breach of faith, in the attack that was made on the Smyrna fleet, forty years ago, brought a great load of infamy on those who advised and directed it; but they were more modest than to ask a public approbation of so opprobrious a fact: it lay on a few; and the nation was not drawn in to a share in the guilt of that which was then universally detested, though it was passed over in silence. It seems enough, if not too much, to be silent on such an occasion:—I can carry my compliances no further.”

I now go on with the account of what was farther done in this session: the House of Commons was, as to all other things, except the matter of commerce, so entirely in the hands of the ministers, that they ventured on a new demand, of a very extraordinary nature, which was made in as extraordinary a manner. The civil list, which was estimated at 600,000*l.* a-year, and was given for the ordinary support of the government, did far exceed it: and this was so evident, that during the three first years of the Queen's reign, 100,000*l.* was every year applied to the war; 200,000*l.* was laid out in building of Blenheim House, and the entertaining the Palatines had cost the Queen 100,000*l.*: so that here was apparently a large overplus beyond what was necessary towards the support of the government. Yet these extraordinary expenses had put the ordinary payments into such an arrear, that at Midsummer, 1710, the Queen owed 510,000*l.*; but upon a new account, this was brought to be 80,000*l.* less; and at that time there was an arrear of 190,000*l.* due to the civil list; these two sums together amounting to 270,000*l.*, the debt that remained was but 240,000*l.* Yet now, in the end of the session, when, upon the rejecting the bill of commerce, most of the members were gone into the country, so that there were not one hundred and eighty of them left, a message was sent to the House of Commons, desiring a power to mortgage a branch of the civil list, for thirty-two years, in order to raise upon it 500,000*l.*

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A demand
of money
for the civil
list debts.

This was thought a demand of very bad consequence, since the granting it to one prince would be a precedent to grant the like to all future princes: and as the account of the debt was deceitfully stated, so it was known, that the funds set off for the civil list would increase considerably in times of peace: so an opposition was made to it, with a great superiority in point of argument, but there was a great majority for it; and all people concluded, that the true end of getting so much money into the hands of the court, was to furnish their creatures sufficiently, for carrying their elections.

Reasons
against it.

The Lords were sensible that the method of procuring this supply was contrary to their privileges, since all public supplies were either asked from the throne, or by a message which was sent to both houses at the same time: this practice was inquired into by the Lords; no precedents

But it was
granted.

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came up to it, but some came so near it, that nothing could be made of the objection. But the ministers apprehending that an opposition would be made to the bill, if it came up alone, got it consolidated with another of 1,200,000*l.* that was before them. And the weight of these two joined together, made them both pass in the House of Lords, without opposition.

Address of
both houses
to get the
Pretender
removed
from Lor-
raine.

While this was in agitation, the Earl of Wharton set forth, in the House of Lords, the danger the nation was in by the Pretender's being settled in Lorraine; so he moved, that an address should be made to the Queen, desiring her, to use her most pressing instances with the Duke of Lorraine to remove him, and with all princes that were in amity or correspondence with her, not to receive the Pretender, nor to suffer him to continue in their dominions. This was opposed by none, but the Lord North, so it was carried to the Queen. The day after the Lords had voted this, Stanhope made a motion to the same purpose in the House of Commons, and it was agreed to, *nemine contradicente*. The Queen, in her answer to the address of the Lords, said, she would repeat the instances, she had already used, to get that person removed, according to their desire in the address: this seemed to import, that she had already pressed the Duke of Lorraine on that subject, though the ministers, in the House of Lords, acknowledged that they knew of no applications made to the Duke of Lorraine, and thought the words of the answer related only to the instances she had used, to get the Pretender to be sent out of France: but the natural signification of the words seeming to relate to the Duke of Lorraine, the Lords made a second address, in which they said, they were surprised to find that those instances had not their full effect, notwithstanding the Kings of France and Spain had shewed their compliance with her desire on that occasion. All the answer brought to this was, that the Queen received it graciously. She answered the Commons more plainly, and promised to use her endeavours to get him removed. It was generally believed that the Duke of Lorraine did not consent to receive him, till he sent one over, to know the Queen's pleasure upon it, and that he was very readily informed of that.

In the end of May, Spratt, bishop of Rochester, died;

his parts were very bright in his youth, and gave great hopes ; but these were blasted by a lazy, libertine course of life, to which his temper and good nature carried him, without considering the duties, or even the decencies of his profession : he was justly esteemed a great master of our language, and one of our correctest writers. Atterbury succeeded him in that see, and in the deanery of Westminster : thus was he promoted, and rewarded for all the flame, that he had raised in our church. Compton, bishop of London, died in the beginning of July, in the eighty-first year of his age ; he was a generous and good-natured man, but easy and weak, and much in the power of others : he was succeeded by Robinson, bishop of Bristol. On the 18th of July, the Queen came to the House of Lords, to pass the bills, and to put an end to the session : she made a speech to her parliament, in which, after she had thanked them for the service they had done the public, and for the supplies that the Commons had given, she said, she hoped the affair of commerce would be so well understood at their next meeting, that the advantageous conditions she had obtained from France, would be made effectual for the benefit of our trade. She enlarged on the praises of the present parliament ; she said, at their first meeting they had eased the subjects of more than nine millions, without any further charge on them, not to mention the advantage, which the way of doing it might bring to the nation, and now they had enabled her likewise to pay her debts : they had supported the war, and strengthened her hands, in obtaining a peace : she told them, at her first coming to the crown, she found a war prepared for her ; and that she had now made her many victories useful, by a safe and honourable peace. She promised herself, that with their concurrence, it would be lasting : she desired they would make her subjects sensible what they gained by the peace, and endeavour to dissipate all the groundless jealousies, which had been too industriously fomented ; that so our divisions might not endanger the advantages she had obtained for her kingdoms : there were some (very few she hoped) that would never be satisfied with any government ; she hoped they would exert themselves to obviate the malice of the ill-minded, and to undeceive the deluded : she recommended to them the adhering to the constitution in church and state ; such persons

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The death
of some bi-
shops.

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had the best title to her favour; she had no other aim, but their advantage, and the securing our religion and liberty; she hoped to meet a parliament next winter, that should act upon the same principles, and with the same prudence and vigour, to support the liberties of Europe abroad, and to reduce the spirit of faction at home. Few speeches from the throne have in my time been more severely reflected on, than this was: it seemed strange that the Queen, who did not pretend to understand matters of trade, should pass such a censure on both houses, for their not understanding the affair of commerce; since at the bar of both houses, and in the debates within them upon it, the interest of the nation did appear so visibly to be contrary to the treaty of commerce, that it looked like a contempt put on them to represent it as advantageous to us, and to rank all those who had opposed it among the ill-minded, or at least among the deluded. Nor did it escape censure, that she should affirm, that the nation was by them eased of the load of nine millions, without any further charge, since the nation must bear the constant charge of interest at six per cent., till the capital should be paid off. The sharpness with which she expressed herself was singular, and not very well suited to her dignity or her sex: nor was it well understood, what could be meant by her saying that she found a war prepared for her at her coming to the crown; since she herself began it, upon the addresses of both houses. It was also observed, that there was not, in all her speech, one word of the Pretender, or of the protestant succession; but that, which made the greatest impression on the whole nation was, that this speech discovered plainly, that the court was resolved to have the bill of commerce pass in the next session: all people concluded, the ministers were under engagements to the court of France to get it settled; and this was taken to be the sense of the Queen's words concerning the making the peace lasting; what effect this may have on the next elections, which are quickly to follow, must be left to time.

I am now come to the end of the war, and of this parliament, both at once: it was fit they should bear some proportion to one another; for, as this was the worst parliament I ever saw, so no assembly, but one composed as this was, could have sat quiet under such a peace: but I am now

arrived at my full period, and so shall close this work : I ^{1713.}
had a noble prospect before me, in a course of many years,
of bringing it to a glorious conclusion ; now the scene is so
fatally altered, that I can scarce restrain myself from giving
vent to a just indignation, in severe complaints : but an his-
torian must tell things truly as they are, and leave the de-
scanting on them to others ; so I here conclude this History
of above three-and-fifty years.

I pray God it may be read with the same candour and
sincerity, with which I have written it, and with such a de-
gree of attention as may help those who read it to form just
reflections, and sound principles of religion and virtue, of
duty to our princes, and of love to our country, with a sin-
cere and incorruptible zeal to preserve our religion, and to
maintain our liberty and property.

CONCLUSION.

I HAVE now set out the state of affairs for above half a century, with all the care and attention that I was capable of: I have inquired into all matters among us, and have observed them, during the course of my life, with a particular application and impartiality. But my intention, in writing, was not so much to tell a fine tale to the world, and to amuse them with a discovery of many secrets and of intrigues of state, to blast the memory of some, and to exalt others; to disgrace one party, and to recommend another; my chief design was better formed, and deeper laid:—it was to give such a discovery of errors in government, and of the excesses and follies of parties, as may make the next age wiser, by what I may tell them of the last. And, I may presume, that the observations I have made, and the account that I have given, will gain me so much credit, that I may speak with a plain freedom to all sorts of persons: this not being to be published till after I am dead, when envy, jealousy, or hatred, will be buried with me in my grave, I may hope, that what I am now to offer to succeeding ages, may be better heard, and less censured, than any thing I could offer to the present: so that this is a sort of testament, or dying speech, which I leave behind me, to be read and considered when I can speak no more. I do most earnestly beg of God to direct me in it, and to give it such an effect on the minds of those who read it, that I may do more good when dead, than I could ever hope to do while I was alive.

My zeal for
the church
of England.

My thoughts have run most, and dwelt longest, on the concerns of the church and religion; therefore I begin with them. I have always had a true zeal for the church of England; I have lived in its communion with great joy, and have pursued its true interests with an unfeigned affection: yet, I must say, there are many things in it that have been very uneasy to me.

The doc-
trine.

The requiring subscriptions to the thirty-nine articles, is a great imposition: I believe them all myself: but as those

about original sin and predestination, might be expressed more unexceptionably, so I think it is a better way to let such matters continue to be still the standard of doctrine, with some few corrections, and to censure those who teach any contrary tenets; than to oblige all that serve in the church to subscribe them: the greater part subscribe without ever examining them; and others do it, because they must do it, though they can hardly satisfy their consciences about some things in them. Churches and societies are much better secured by laws, than by subscriptions: it is a more reasonable, as well a more easy method of government.

Our worship is the perfectest composition of devotion ^{The worship,} that we find in any church, antient or modern: yet the corrections that were agreed to by a deputation of bishops and divines, in the year 1689, would make the whole frame of our liturgy still more perfect, as well as more unexceptionable; and will, I hope, at some time or other, be better entertained than they were then. I am persuaded they are such as would bring in the much greater part of the dissenters to the communion of the church, and are in themselves desirable, though there were not a dissenter in the nation.

As for the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, it has been the ^{And discipline.} burden of my life, to see how it was administered: our courts are managed under the rules of the canon law, dilatory and expensive; and as their constitution is bad, so the business in them is small; and, therefore, all possible contrivances are used, to make the most of those causes that come before them: so that they are universally dreaded and hated. God grant that a time may come, in which that noble design, so near being perfected in King Edward the Sixth's days, of the *reformatio legum ecclesiasticarum*, may be reviewed and established: that so matrimonial and testamentary causes, which are of a mixed nature, may be left, a little better regulated, to the lay hands of chancellors and other officers; but that the whole correction of the manners of the laity, and the inspection into the lives and labours of the clergy, may be brought again into the hands of spiritual men, and be put into a better method. It would be well if, after the poor clergy are relieved by the tenths and first fruits, a fund were

formed, of 20 or 30*l.* a-year, for the rural deans; and that they, with at least three of the clergy of the deanery, named by the bishop, examined into the manners both of clergy and laity; and after the methods of private admonition had been tried, according to our Saviour's rule, but without effect, that the matter should be laid before the bishop; who, after his admonitions were also ineffectual, might proceed to censures, to a suspension from the sacrament, and to a full excommunication, as the case should require. This would bring our church, indeed, into a primitive form, in which at present the clergy have less authority, and are under more contempt, than in any church that I have yet seen; for, though in the church of Rome the public authority is in general managed according to the method continued among us, yet it was, in many particulars, corrected by the council of Trent; whereas we, by that unhappy proviso in the act, authorizing the thirty-two commissioners to reform our courts, are fatally tied down to all that was in use in the twenty-fifth year of King Henry the Eighth. Besides, in that church the clergy have, by auricular confession, but too great an authority over the people: I am far from thinking that to be a lawful, or even a desirable thing: but since that is not to be thought of, we are in a woeful condition, in which the clergy are, as it were, shut out from any share of the main parts of the care of souls.

My zeal
against se-
paration,

The want of a true, well-regulated discipline, is a great defect, owned to be so in the preface to the Office of Communion; and, while we continue in this condition, we are certainly in an imperfect state. But this did never appear to me to be a just ground of separation; which I could never think lawful, unless the terms of communion among us were unlawful, and did oblige a man to sins that seems to me the only justifiable cause of separation—of leaving the established church, and of setting up a distinct or opposite communion. Nothing under this seems to be a just ground of rending the body of Christ, or of disturbing the order of the world, and the peace of mankind, thereby drawing on that train of ill consequences, that must and do follow upon such a disjoining the society of Christians; by which they become alienated from one another, and, in the sequel, grow to hate and to devour

each other, and by which they are in danger of being consumed one of another.

I do wish, and will pray for it as long as I live, that some regard may be had to those scruples, with which the dissenters are entangled; and, though I think they are not all well grounded, yet, for peace sake, I wish some things may be taken away, and that other things may be softened and explained: many of these things were retained at the Reformation, to draw the people more entirely into it; who are apt to judge, especially in times of ignorance, by outward appearances, more than by the real value of things; so the preserving an exterior, that looked somewhat like what they had been formerly accustomed to, without doubt had a great effect, at first, on many persons, who, without that, could not have been easily brought over to adhere to that work; and this was a just and lawful consideration. But it is now at an end; none now are brought over from popery by this means; there is not, therefore, such a necessity for continuing them still, as there was for keeping them up at first. I confess it is not advisable, without good reason for it, to make great changes in things that are visible and sensible; yet, upon just grounds, some may be made without any danger. No inconvenience could follow on leaving out the cross in baptism, or on laying aside surplices, and regulating cathedrals; especially as to that indecent way of singing prayers, and of laymen's reading the litany: all bowings to the altar have at least an ill appearance, and are of no use: the excluding parents from being the sponsors in baptism, and requiring them to procure others, is extremely inconvenient, and makes that to be a mockery, rather than a solemn sponsion, in too many. Other things may be so explained, that no just exceptions could lie to them.

And tenderness to scrupulous consciences.

Thus I wish the terms of communion were made larger and easier; but since all is now bound on us by a law, that cannot be repealed but in parliament, there must be a great change in the minds, both of the princes and people, before that can be brought about: therefore the dissenters ought to consider well, what they can do for peace, without sinning against God. The toleration does not at all justify their separation; it only takes away the force of

penal laws against them : therefore, as lying in common discourse is still a sin, though no statute punishes it ; and ingratitude is a base thing, though there is no law against it ; so separating from a national body and from the public worship, is certainly an ill thing, unless some sin be committed there, in which we think ourselves involved, by joining with that body, and in that worship : so that the toleration is only a freedom from punishment, and does not alter the nature of the thing.

My zeal
against per-
secution.

I say not this from any dislike of toleration ; I think it is a right due to all men : their thoughts are not in their own power ; they must think of things, as they appear to them ; their consciences are God's ; he only knows them, and he only can change them. And, as the authority of parents over their children is antecedent to society, and no law that takes it away can be binding, so men are bound, antecedently to all society, to follow what appears to them to be the will of God ; and, if men would act honestly, the rule of doing to all others what we would have others do to us, would soon determine this matter ; since every honest man must own, that he would think himself hardly dealt with, if he were ill used for his opinions, and for performing such parts of worship, as he thought himself indispensably obliged to. Indeed the church of Rome has some colour for her cruelty, since she pretends to be infallible. But these practices are absurdly unreasonable among those, who own that they may be mistaken, and so may be persecuting the innocent and the orthodox. Persecution, if it were lawful at all, ought to be extreme, and go, as it does in the church of Rome, to extirpation ; for the bad treatment of those who are suffered still to live in a society, is the creating so many malecontents, who at some time or other may make those, who treat them ill, feel their revenge : and the principle of persecution, if true, is that, to which all have a right, when they have a power to put it in practice : since they, being persuaded that they are in the right, from that must believe they may lawfully exert against others that severity, under which they groaned long themselves. This will be aggravated in them by the voice of revenge, which is too apt to be well heard by human nature, chiefly when it comes with the mask and appearance of zeal. I add not here any political considerations, from the

apparent interest of nations, which must dispose them to encourage the increase of their people, to advance industry, and to become a sanctuary to all, who are oppressed: but though this is visible and is confessed by all, yet I am now considering this matter only as it is righteous, just, and merciful, in the principle; for if it were not so well supported in those respects, other motives would only be a temptation to princes and states to be governed by interest, more than by their duty.

Having thus given my thoughts in general, with relation to the constitution of our church and the communion with it, I shall proceed, in the next place, to that which is special with relation to the clergy. I have said a great deal on this head, in my book of the Pastoral Care, which of all the tracts I ever wrote, is that in which I rejoice the most: and, though it has brought much anger on me from those, who will not submit to the plan there laid down, yet it has done much good during my own life, and I hope it will do yet more good, after I am dead: this is a subject I have thought much upon, and so I will here add some things, to what will be found in that book.

No man ought to think of this profession, unless he feels within himself a love to religion, with a zeal for it, and an internal true piety; which is chiefly kept up by secret prayer, and by reading of the Scriptures: as long as these things are a man's burden, they are infallible indications, that he has no inward vocation, nor motion of the Holy Ghost to undertake it. The capital error in men's preparing themselves for that function is, that they study books more than themselves, and that they read divinity more in other books, than in the Scriptures: days of prayer, meditation, and fasting, at least once a quarter in the Ember week, in which they may read over and over again both offices of ordination, and get by heart those passages in the Epistles to Timothy and Titus, that relate to this function, would form their minds to a right sense of it, and be an effectual mean to prepare them duly for it.

Ask yourselves often, (for thus I address myself to you, as if I were still alive) would you follow that course of life, if there were no settled establishment belonging to it, and if you were to preach under the cross, and in danger of persecution? For till you arrive at that, you are yet

My thoughts
concerning
the clergy.

An inward
vocation.

carnal, and come into the priesthood for a piece of bread. Study to keep alive in you a flame of exalted devotion; be talking often to yourselves, and communing with your own hearts; digest all that you read carefully, that you may remember it so well, as not to be at a loss when any point of divinity is talked of: a little study well digested, in a good serious mind, will go a great way, and will lay in materials for your whole life: above all things, raise within yourself a zeal for doing good, and for gaining souls; indeed I have lamented, during my whole life, that I saw so little true zeal among our clergy: I saw much of it in the clergy of the church of Rome, though it is both ill-directed and ill-conducted: I saw much zeal likewise throughout the foreign churches: the dissenters have a great deal among them; but I must own, that the main body of our clergy has always appeared dead and lifeless to me; and instead of animating one another, they seem rather to lay one another asleep. Without a visible alteration in this, you will fall under an universal contempt, and lose both the credit and the fruits of your ministry.

The function
of the
clergy.

When you are in orders, be ever ready to perform all the parts of your function; be not anxious about a settlement; study to distinguish yourself in your studies, labours, exemplary deportment, and a just sweetness of temper, managed with gravity and discretion; and as for what concerns yourselves, depend on the providence of God; for he will in due time raise up friends and benefactors to you. I do affirm this, upon the observation of my whole life, that I never knew any one, who conducted himself by these rules, but he was brought into good posts, or at least into an easy state of subsistence.

Do not affect to run into new opinions, nor to heat yourselves in disputes, about matters of small importance: begin with settling in your minds the foundations of your faith; and be full of this, and ready at it, that you may know how to deal with unbelievers; for that is the spreading corruption of this age: there are few atheists, but many infidels, who are indeed very little better than the atheists. In this argument, you ought to take pains to have all well digested, and clearly laid in your thoughts, that you may manage the controversy gently, without any asperity of words, but with a strength of reason: in disputing, do not

offer to answer any argument, of which you never heard before, and know nothing concerning it; that will both expose you, and the cause you maintain; and, if you feel yourself grown too warm at any time, break off and persist no longer in the dispute; for you may by that grow to an indecent heat, by which you may wrong the cause, which you endeavour to defend. In the matter of mysteries be very cautious; for the simplicity in which those sublime truths are delivered in the Scriptures, ought to be well studied and adhered to: only one part of the argument should be insisted on, I mean, the shortness and defectiveness of our faculties; which being well considered, will afford a great variety of noble speculations, that are obvious and easily apprehended, to restrain the wanton sallies of some petulant men.

Study to understand well the controversies of the church of Rome, chiefly those concerning infallibility and transubstantiation; for, in managing those, their missionaries have a particular address. Learn to view popery in a true light, as a conspiracy to exalt the power of the clergy, even by subjecting the most sacred truths of religion, to contrivances for raising their authority, and by offering to the world another method of being saved, besides that prescribed in the gospel. Popery is a mass of impostures, supported by men, who manage them with great advantages, and impose them with inexpressible severities, on those who dare call any thing in question, that they dictate to them. I see a spirit rising among us, too like that of the church of Rome, of advancing the clergy beyond their due authority, to an unjust pitch: this rather heightens jealousies and prejudices against us, than advances our real authority; and it will fortify the designs of profane infidels, who desire nothing more than to see the public ministry of the church first disgraced, and then abolished. The carrying any thing too far, does commonly lead men into the other extreme: we are the dispensers of the word and sacraments; and the more faithful and diligent we are in this, the world will pay so much the more respect and submission to us: and our maintaining an argument for more power than we now have, will be of no effect, unless the world sees that we make a good use of the authority that is already in our hands. It is with the clergy, as with princes, the only way

to keep their prerogative from being uneasy to their subjects, and from being disputed, is to manage it wholly for their good and advantage, then all will be for it when they find it is for them; this will prevail more effectually than all the arguments of lawyers, with all the precedents of former times; therefore let the clergy live and labour well, and they will feel that as much authority will follow that, as they will know how to manage well. And to speak plainly, Dodwell's extravagant notions, which have been too much drunk in by the clergy in my time, have weakened the power of the church, and soured men's minds more against it, than all the books wrote, or attempts made against it could ever have done; and indeed the secret poison of those principles has given too many of the clergy a bias towards popery, with an aversion to the Reformation, which has brought them under much contempt. This is not to be recovered, but by their living and labouring as they ought to do, without an eager maintaining of arguments for their authority, which will never succeed till they live better and labour more. When I say live better, I mean not only to live without scandal, which I have found the greatest part of them do, but to lead exemplary lives; to be eminent in humility, meekness, sobriety, contempt of the world, and unfeigned love of the brethren; abstracted from the vain conversation of the world, retired, and at home; fasting often, joining prayer and meditation with it; without which, fasting may do well with relation to the body, but will signify little with relation to the mind.

If, to such a course of life, clergymen would add a little more labour, not only performing public offices, and preaching to the edification of the people, but watching over them, instructing them, exhorting, reproving, and comforting them, as occasion is given, from house to house, making their calling the business of their whole life; they would soon find their own minds grow to be in a better temper, and their people would shew more esteem and regard for them, and a blessing from God would attend upon their labours. I say it with great regret, I have observed the clergy, in all the places through which I have travelled, Papists, Lutherans, Calvinists, and Dissenters; but of them all, our clergy is much the most remiss in their labours in private, and the least severe in their lives. Do not think

I say this to expose you, or to defame this church; those censures have passed on me for my freedom during my life, God knows how unjustly, my designs being all to awaken the clergy, and by that means to preserve the church; for which, He who knows all things, knows how much and how long I have been mourning in secret, and fasting and praying before him. And let me say this freely to you, now that I am out of the reach of envy and censure, unless a better spirit possesses the clergy, arguments and (which is more) laws and authority will not prove strong enough to preserve the church; especially if the nation observes a progress in that bias, which makes many so favourable to popery, and so severe towards the dissenters: this will recommend them the more to pity and favour, and will draw a general odium upon you, that may end in your ruin, or in a persecution; for which the clergy of this age seem to be very little prepared. God grant those of the next may be more so!

Oh my brethren! (for I speak to you as if I were among you,) think what manner of persons you ought to be, in all holy conversation and godliness, that so you may shine as lights in the world: think of the account you must give for those immortal souls committed to your care, which were redeemed by the blood of Christ, who has sent you in his name, to persuade them to be reconciled to God, and at last to present them to him faultless with exceeding joy; he sees and observes your labours, and will recompense them gloriously in that great day.

I leave all these things on your consciences, and pray earnestly that God may give his blessing to this posthumous labour of mine, that our church may be so built up by your labours, that it may continue to be long the joy of the whole earth, in the perfection of its beauty, and may be a pattern, as well as give protection, to all the churches of God.

I now turn to my brethren and successors in the episcopal order. You are they in whose hands the government of the church is put; in some respects it is believed to be wholly in you, though I know, and have often felt it, that your power is so limited, that you can do little: exemptions, a scandalous remnant of popery, take a great part of your diocese out of your hands. This I have often

My advices
to the
bishops.

wondered at, that some who plead that the government of the church is settled by divine authority in the bishops, can yet, by the virtue of papal bulls, confirmed by an unhappy clause in an act of parliament, exercise episcopal jurisdiction; which is plainly to act by virtue of the secular power, in opposition to that, which, according to their principles, is settled by a divine appointment. Archdeacons' visitations were an invention of the latter ages; in which the bishops, neglecting their duty, cast a great part of their care upon them. Now their visitations are only for form and for fees; and they are a charge on the clergy; so, when this matter is well looked into, I hope archdeacons, with many other burdens that lay heavy on the clergy, shall be taken away. All the various instruments, upon which heavy fees must be raised, were the infamous contrivances of the canonists, and can never be maintained when well examined. I say nothing to you of your lives, I hope you are, and shall ever be, shining lights; I wish the pomp of living, and the keeping high tables, could be quite taken away: it is a great charge, and no very decent one; a great devourer of time; it lets in much promiscuous company, and much vain discourse upon you: even civility may carry you too far in a freedom and familiarity that will make you look too like the rest of the world. I hope this is a burden to you: it was indeed one of the greatest burdens of my life to see so much time lost, to hear so much idle talk, and to be living in a luxurious waste of that which might have been much better bestowed. I had not strength enough to break through that which custom has imposed on those provided with plentiful bishoprics: I pray God to help you to find a decent way of laying this down!

The wives and children of bishops ought to be exemplary in their apparel, and in their whole deportment; remembering, that no part of the bishop's honours belongs to them. The wife of a bishop ought to visit the widow and the fatherless, and, by a grave authority, instruct and admonish, as well as oblige and favour, the wives of the rest of the clergy.

The children of bishops ought to be well instructed, and managed with all gravity; bishops ought not to press them beyond their inclinations to take orders; for this looks as

if they would thrust them, how unfit or unwilling soever, into such preferments as they can give or procure for them: on the contrary, though their children should desire to go into orders, they ought not to suffer it, unless they see in them a good mind and sincere intentions, with the other necessary qualifications; in which they cannot be deceived, unless they have a mind to deceive themselves: it is a betraying of their trust, and the worst sort of simony, to provide children with great dignities and benefices, only as an estate to be given them, without a due regard to their capacities or tempers. Ordinations are the only parts of the episcopal function on which the law has laid no restraint; so this ought to be heavy on your thoughts.

Ordination weeks were always dreadful things to me, when I remembered those words, "Lay hands suddenly on no man, be not partaker of other men's sins: keep thyself pure." It is true, those who came to me were generally well prepared as to their studies, and they brought testimonials and titles, which is all that in our present constitution can be demanded. I never put over the examining them to my chaplains; I did that always myself, and examined them chiefly on the proofs of revealed religion, and the terms of salvation, and the new covenant through Christ; for those are the fundamentals: but my principal care was to awaken their consciences, to make them consider whether they had a motion of the Holy Ghost calling them to the function, and to make them apprehend what belonged both to a spiritual life and to the pastoral care. On these subjects I spoke much and often to every one of them apart, and sometimes to them all together, besides the public examination of them with my chapter.

This was all that I could do; but, alas! how defective is this! and it is too well known how easy the clergy are in signing testimonials. That which I here propose is, that every man who intends to be ordained should be required to come and acquaint the bishop with it a year before; that so he may then talk to his conscience, and give him good directions, both as to his studies and the course of his life and devotions; and that he may recommend him to the care and inspection of the best clergymen that he knows in the neighbourhood where he lives; that so he may have from him, by some other conveyance than

An expedient concerning ordinations.

the person concerned, such an account of him as he may rely on: this is all that can be proposed till our universities are put in a better method, or till seminaries can be raised for maintaining a number of persons to be duly prepared for holy orders.

The duties
of a bishop.

As to the labours of a bishop, they ought to think themselves obliged to preach as much as their health and age can admit of; this the form of ordaining bishops sets before them, together with the sense of the church in all ages; the complaint of the best men in the worst ages, shews how much the sloth and laziness of bishops will be cried out on, and how acceptable the labours of preaching bishops have always been; the people run to hear them, and hearken to their sermons with more than ordinary attention; you will find great comfort in your labours this way, and will see the fruits of them. The discreet conduct of your clergy is to be your chief care; keep not at too great a distance, and yet let them not grow too familiar: a bishop's discourse should be well-seasoned, turned chiefly to good subjects, instruction in the matters of religion, and the pastoral care; and the more diverting ones ought to be matters of learning, criticism, or history. It is in the power of a bishop to let no man despise him.

A grave but sweet deportment and a holy conversation will command a general respect; and as for some hot and froward spirits, the less they are meddled with, they will be the less able to do mischief; they delight in opposition, which they think will make them the more considerable. I have had much experience this way, nothing mortifies them so much as neglect: the more abstracted bishops live, from the world, from courts, from cabals, and from parties, they will have the more quiet within themselves; their thoughts will be free and less entangled, and they will in conclusion be the more respected by all, especially if an integrity and a just freedom appear among them in the House of Lords, where they will be much observed; and judgments will be made of them there, that will follow them home to their dioceses.

Their abstraction
from courts
and intrigues.

Nothing will alienate the nation more from them, than their becoming tools to a court, and giving up the liberties of their country, and advancing arbitrary designs; nothing will work more effectually on the dissenters, than a course

of moderation towards them: this will disarm their passions, and when that is done, they may be better dealt with in point of reason; all care ought to be taken to stifle new controversies in their birth, to check new opinions and vain curiosities.

Upon the whole matter, bishops ought to consider, that the honour given them, and the revenues belonging to them, are such rewards for former services, and such encouragements to go on to more labour and diligence, as ought to be improved, as so many helps and advantages for carrying on the work of the gospel, and their heavenly Father's business. They ought to "meditate on these things, and be wholly in them; so that their profiting may appear to all." They ought "to preach in season, and out of season, to exhort, admonish, and rebuke with all authority."

But if they abandon themselves to sloth and idleness; if they neglect their proper function, and follow a secular, a vain, a covetous, or a luxurious course of life; if they, not content with educating their children well, and with such a competency as may set them afloat in the world, think of building up their own houses, and raising up great estates, they will put the world on many unacceptable inquiries: Wherefore is this waste made? Why are these revenues continued to men who make such an ill use of them? and why is an order kept up that does the church so little good, and gives it so much scandal? The violences of Archbishop Laud, and his promoting arbitrary power, ruined himself and the church both. A return of the like practices will bring with it the like dreadful consequences: the labours and the learning, the moderation and good lives of the bishops of this age have changed the nation much, with relation to them, and have possessed them of a general esteem; some fiery spirits only excepted, who hate and revile them for that which is their true glory. I hope another age may carry this yet much further, that so they may be universally looked on, as the true and tender-hearted fathers of the church.

The affinity of the matter leads me, before I enter on another scene, to say somewhat concerning the patronage of benefices, which have a care of souls belonging to them. It is a noble dignity in a family; it was highly esteemed in the times of popery, because the patron was to be named

Concerning
patrons.

in all the masses said in his church. There is a more real value in it in our constitution, since the patron has the nomination of him to whom the care of souls is to be committed; which must take place, unless some just and legal exception can be made by the bishop: even that is not easy to be maintained in the courts of law, where the bishop will soon be run into so great an expense, that I am afraid many, rather than venture on that, receive unworthy men into the service of the church, who are in the sequel reproaches to it; and this is often the case of the richest and best endowed benefices.

Some sell the next advowson, which I know is said to be legal, though the incumbent lies at the point of death; others do not stick to by and sell benefices, when open and vacant, though this is declared to be simony by law: parents often buy them for their children, and reckon that is their portion: in that case, it is true, there is no perjury in taking the oath, for the person presented is no party to the bargain: often ecclesiastics themselves buy the next advowson, and lodge it with trustees for their own advantage.

Where nothing of all this traffic intervenes, patrons bestow benefices on their children or friends, without considering either their abilities or merit; favour or kindred being the only thing that weighs with them. When all this is laid together, how great a part of the benefices of England are disposed of, if not simoniacally, yet at least unworthily, without regard to so sacred a trust, as the care of souls? Certainly patrons who, without due care and inquiry, put souls into bad hands, have much to answer for.

I will not say that a patron is bound always to bestow his church on the best man he can find; that may put him on anxieties, out of which it will not be easy to extricate himself; nor will it be always possible to balance the different excellencies of men, who may have various talents, that lie several ways, and all of them may be useful, some more, some less: but in this I am positive, that no patron answers the obligation of that trust, unless he is well persuaded, that the clerk he presents is a truly good man, has a competent measure of knowledge, zeal, and discretion, so suited to the people for whom he names him, that he has reason to believe he will be a faithful pastor and a prudent guide to them.

Patrons ought to take this on their conscience, to manage it with great caution, and in the fear of God, and not to enter into that filthy merchandise of the souls of men, which is too common: it is like to be a moth in their estates, and may bring a curse on their families, as well as on their persons.

I do not enter into the scandalous practices of non-residence and pluralities, which are sheltered by so many colours of law among us; whereas the church of Rome, from whence we had those and many other abuses, has freed herself from this, under which we still labour, to our great and just reproach. This is so shameful a profanation of holy things, that it ought to be treated with detestation and horror. Do such men think on the vows they made on their ordination; on the rules in the Scriptures, or on the nature of their function, or that it is a care of souls? How long, how long shall this be the peculiar disgrace of our church, which, for ought I know, is the only church in the world that tolerates it? I must add, that I do not reckon the holding poor livings that lie contiguous a plurality, where both are looked after, and both afford only a competent maintenance.

Non-residence and pluralities.

I have now gone through the most important things that occur to my thoughts with relation to the clergy. I turn next to such observations, reflections, and advices, as relate to the laity: I begin with the body of the people. The commonalty of this nation are much the happiest, and live the easiest and the most plentifully of any that ever I saw; they are very sagacious and skilful in managing all their concerns; but at the same time it is not to be conceived how ignorant they are in the matters of religion. The dissenters have a much larger share of knowledge among them, than is among those who come to our churches. This is the more to be wondered at, considering the plainness in which matters of religion are wrote in this age, and the many small books concerning these that have been published of late years, which go at easy rates, and of which many thousands are every year sent about by charitable societies in London, to be freely given to such as will but take them, and read them: so that this ignorance seems to be obstinate and incurable.

Concerning the body of the people.

Upon this subject, all that I can propose lies in two ad-

vices to the clergy : the one is, that they catechise the youth much at church, not only asking the questions and hearing the answers, but joining to that the explaining the terms in other words, and by turning to the Bible for such passages as prove or enlarge on them. The doing this constantly, would infuse into the next age a higher measure of knowledge than the present is likely to be blessed with. Long sermons, in which points of divinity or morality are regularly handled, are above the capacity of the people ; short and plain ones, upon a large portion of scripture, would be better hearkened to, and have a much better effect ; they would make the hearers understand and love the Scriptures more. Preachers ought to dwell often, in their sermons, on those sins that their hearers must needs know themselves guilty of, if they are so ; such as swearing, lying, cheating, drunkenness, lewd deportment, breach of promise, love of the world, anger, envy, malice, pride, and luxury. Short discourses upon these, and often repeated, in many glances and reflections on them, setting forth the real evil of them, with the ill consequences that follow, not only to others, but to the persons themselves, are the best means that can be thought of, for reforming them ; and these will have an effect on some, if not on many. But above all, and in order to all the rest, they ought to be called on, upon all occasions, to reflect on their ways, to consider how they live, to pray in secret to God, confessing their sins to him, begging pardon and mercy for what is past, and his Holy Spirit to assist, strengthen, and direct them for the time to come, forming sincere resolutions to mend their ways, with relation to every particular sin, that they find they may have fallen into. If the clergy will faithfully do their duty in this method, and join to it earnest prayers for their people, they may hope through the blessing of God to succeed better in their labours. The people ought to be often put in mind of the true end of the rest on the Lord's-day, which is chiefly to give them time and opportunity for meditations and reflections on themselves, on what they have said or done, and on what has befallen them the former week ; and to consider what may be before them in the week they are entering on. Ministers ought to visit their people, not only when they are sick unto death, but when they are in an ill state of health, or when they are under affliction. These

are the times in which their spirits are tender, and they will best bear with a due freedom, which ought to be managed in the discreetest and most affectionate manner: and a clergyman ought not to be a respecter of persons, and neglect the meanest of his cure; they have as immortal souls as the greatest, and for which Christ has paid the same ransom.

From the commonalty I turn to the gentry; they are, ^{Of the gentry.} for the most part, the worst instructed, and the least knowing of any of their rank I ever went amongst. The Scotch, though less able to bear the expense of a learned education, are much more knowing: the reason of which is this; the Scotch, even of indifferent fortunes, send private tutors with their children, both to schools and colleges; these look after the young gentlemen, mornings and evenings, and read over with them what they have learned, and so make them perfecter in it: they generally go abroad a year or two, and see the world; this obliges them to behave themselves well:—whereas a gentleman here is often both ill taught and ill bred; this makes him haughty and insolent. The gentry are not early acquainted with the principles of religion; so that, after they have forgot their catechism, they acquire no more new knowledge, but what they learn in plays and romances: they grow soon to find it a modish thing, that looks like wit and spirit, to laugh at religion and virtue; and so become crude and unpolished infidels. If they have taken a wrong tincture at the university, that too often disposes them to hate and despise all those who separate from the church, though they can give no better reason, than the papists have for hating heretics—because they forsake the church. In those seats of education, instead of being formed to love their country and constitution, the laws and liberties of it, they are rather disposed to love arbitrary government, and to become slaves to absolute monarchy: a change of interest, provocation, or some other consideration, may set them right again as to the public; but they have no inward principle of love to their country, and of public liberty: so that they are easily brought to like slavery, if they may be the tools for managing it.

This is a dismal representation of things; I have seen ^{The danger of losing public liberty.} the nation thrice on the brink of ruin by men thus tainted. After the Restoration, all were running fast into slavery; had

King Charles the Second been attentive to those bad designs (which he pursued afterwards with more caution) upon his first return, slavery and absolute power might then have been settled into a law, with a revenue able to maintain it; he played away that game without thought, and he had then honest ministers, who would not serve him in it: after all that he did, during the course of his reign, it was scarce credible that the same temper should have returned in his time, yet he recovered it in the last four years of his reign; and the gentry of England were as active and zealous to throw up all their liberties, as their ancestors ever had been to preserve them. This continued above half-a-year in his brother's reign, and he depended so much upon it, that he thought it could never go out of his hands: but he, or rather his priests, had the skill and dexterity to play this game likewise away, and lose it a second time; so that, at the Revolution, all seemed to come again into their wits. But men who have no principles, cannot be steady; now the greater part of the capital gentry seem to return again to a love of tyranny, provided they may be the under tyrants themselves; and they seem to be even uneasy with a court, when it will not be as much a court as they would have it. This is a folly of so singular a nature, that really it wants a name; it is natural for poor men, who have little to lose, and much to hope for, to become the instruments of slavery; but it is an extravagance, peculiar to our age, to see rich men grow as it were in love with slavery and arbitrary power. The root of all this is, that our gentry are not betimes possessed with a true measure of solid knowledge and sound religion, with a love to their country, a hatred of tyranny, and a zeal for liberty. Plutarch's Lives, with the Greek and Roman history, ought to be early put in their hands, they ought to be well acquainted with all history, more particularly that of our own nation; which they should not read in abridgments, but in the fullest and most copious collectors of it, that they may see to the bottom what is our constitution, and what are our laws; what are the methods bad princes have taken to enslave us, and by what conduct we have been preserved: gentlemen ought to observe these things, and to entertain one another often upon these subjects, to raise in themselves, and to spread

around them to all others, a noble ardour for law and liberty. They ought to understand popery well, to view it in its politics, as well as in its religious corruptions, that they may observe and guard against their secretest practices; particularly that main one that prevails so fatally among us, of making us despise the foreign churches, and hate the dissenters at home. The whole body of protestants, if united, might be an equal match to the church of Rome; it is much superior to them in wealth and in force, if it were animated with the zeal which the monastic orders, but chiefly the Jesuits, spread through their whole communion; whereas the reformed are cold and unconcerned, as well as disjointed in matters that relate to religion. The chief maxim by which men, who have a true zeal for their religion and their country, ought to govern themselves, is, to live within the extent of their estates, to be above luxury and vanity, and all expenses that waste their fortunes: luxury must drive them to court favour, to depend on ministers, and to aspire after places and pensions; and as the seeking after these does often complete the ruin of broken families, so in many they prove only a reprieve, and not a recovery; whereas he, who is contented with his fortune, and measures his way of living by it, has another root within him, out of which every noble and generous thought will naturally spring. Public liberty has no sure foundation but in virtue, in parsimony, and moderation; where these fail, liberty may be preserved by accidents and circumstances of affairs, but it has no bottom to rest securely on. A knowing and virtuous gentleman, who understands his religion and loves it, who practises the true rules of virtue, without affectation and moroseness; who knows enough of law to keep his neighbours in order, and to give them good advice; who keeps meetings for his county, and restrains vice and disorder at them; who lives hospitably, frugally, and charitably; who respects and encourages good clergymen, and worships God, both in his family and at church; who educates his children well, who treats his servants gently, and deals equitably with his tenants and all others, with whom he has any concerns; such a man shines, and is a public blessing to all that see him, or come near him. Some such instances are yet left among us; but, alas! there are not many of them. Can

there be any thing more barbarous, or rather treacherous, than for gentlemen to think it is one of the honours of their houses, that none must go out of them sober; it is but a little more infamous to poison them: and yet this passes as a character of a noble housekeeper, who entertains his friends kindly. Idleness and ignorance are the ruin of the greatest part, who, if they are not fit for better things, should descend to any thing rather than suffer themselves to sink into sloth; that will carry them to the excesses of hunting, gaming, and drinking, which may ruin both soul, body, and estate. If a man, by an ill-managed or a neglected education, is so turned that every sort of study or reading is a burden; then he ought to try if he has a genius to any mechanism that may be an entertainment to him; the managing a garden is a noble, and may be made a useful amusement; the taking some part of his estate into his own hands, if he looks carefully to it, will both employ his time well, and may turn to a good account: in a word, some employments may be better than others; but there is no employment so bad as the having none at all: the mind will contract a rust, and an unfitness for every good thing; and a man must either fill up his time with good or at least innocent business, or it will run to the worst sort of waste, to sin and vice.

Errors in
education.

I have often thought it a great error to waste young gentlemen's years so long in learning Latin, by so tedious a grammar; I know those who are bred to the professions in literature, must have the Latin correctly, and for that, the rules of grammar are necessary; but these are not at all requisite to those, who need only so much Latin as thoroughly to understand and delight in the Roman authors and poets. But suppose a youth had, either for want of memory or of application, an incurable aversion to Latin, his education is not for that to be despaired of; there is much noble knowledge to be had in the English and French languages: geography, history, chiefly that of our own country, the knowledge of nature, and the more practical parts of the mathematics, (if he has not a genius for the demonstrative,) may make a gentleman very knowing, though he has not a word of Latin; there is a fineness of thought, and a nobleness of expression indeed in the Latin authors, that will make them the entertainment of a man's whole life,

if he once understands and reads them with delight: but if this cannot be attained to, I would not have it reckoned that the education of an ill Latin scholar is to be given over. A competent measure of the knowledge of the law is a good foundation for distinguishing a gentleman; but I am in doubt whether his being for some time in the inns of court will contribute much to this, if he is not a studious person: those who think they are there only to pass away so many of their years, commonly run together, and live both idly and viciously. I should imagine it a much better way, though it is not much practised, to get a learned young lawyer, who has not got into much business, to come and pass away a long vacation or two with a gentleman, to carry him through such an introduction to the study of the law, as may give him a full view of it, and good directions how to prosecute his study in it. A competent skill in this makes a man very useful in his country, both in conducting his own affairs, and in giving good advice to those about him; it will enable him to be a good justice of peace, and to settle matters by arbitration so as to prevent law-suits: and, which ought to be the top of an English gentleman's ambition, to be an able parliament man; to which no gentleman ought to pretend, unless he has a true zeal for his country, with an inflexible integrity and resolution to pursue what appears to him just and right, and for the good of the public. The parliament is the fountain of law, and the fence of liberty; and no sort of instruction is so necessary for a gentleman, as that which may qualify him to appear there with figure and reputation.

Gentlemen, in their marriages, ought to consider a great many things more than fortune; though, generally speaking, that is the only thing sought for: a good understanding, good principles, and a good temper, with a liberal education, and acceptable person, are the first things to be considered; and certainly fortune ought to come after all these. Those bargains now in fashion make often unhal-^{And in marriages.}lowed marriages, in which, besides the greater evils, more fortune is often wasted than is brought, with a vain, a foolish, an indiscreet, and a hated wife. The first thought in choosing a wife ought to be, to find a help meet for the man: in a married state, the mutual study of both ought

to be, to help and please one another ; this is the foundation of all domestic happiness ; as to stay at home, and to love home, is the greatest help to industry, order, and the good government of a family. I have dwelt the longer on this article, because on the forming the gentry well, the good government of the nation, both in and out of parliament, does so much depend.

Of trade and
industry.

As for the men of trade and business, they are generally speaking, the best body in the nation—generous, sober, and charitable ; so that, while the people in the country are so immersed in their affairs that the sense of religion cannot reach them, there is a better spirit stirring in our cities ; more knowledge, more zeal, and more charity, with a great deal more of devotion. There may be too much of vanity, with too pompous an exterior, mixed with these in the capital city ; but, upon the whole, they are the best we have. Want of exercise is a great prejudice to their health, and a corrupter of their minds, by raising vapours and melancholy, that fills many with dark thoughts, rendering religion, which affords the truest joy, a burden to them, and making them even a burden to themselves ; this furnishes prejudices against religion to those who are but too much disposed to seek for them. The too constant intercourse of visits in town, is a vast consumption of time, and gives much occasion to talk, which is, at best, idle, if not worse : this certainly wants regulation, and is the effect of idleness and vanity.

Of the
stage.

The stage is the great corrupter of the town ; and the bad people of the town have been the chief corrupters of the stage, who run most after those plays that defile the stage and the audience : poets will seek to please, as actors will look for such pieces as draw the most spectators : they pretend, their design is to discourage vice ; but they do, really, recommend it in the most effectual manner. It is a shame to our nation and religion, to see the stage so reformed in France, and so polluted still in England. Moliere for comedy, and Racine for tragedy, are great patterns : few can, and as few will, study to copy after them. But, till another scene appears, certainly our plays are the greatest debauchers of the nation. Gaming is a waste of time, that rises out of idleness, and is kept up by covetousness : those who can think, read, or write to any pur-

pose, and those who understand what conversation and friendship are, will not want such a help to wear out the day; so that, upon the whole matter, sloth and ignorance, bad education, and ill company, are the chief sources of all our vice and disorders.

The ill methods of schools and colleges, give the chief rise to the irregularities of the gentry; as the breeding young women to vanity, dressing, and a false appearance of wit and behaviour, without proper work, or a due measure of knowledge, and a serious sense of religion, is the source of the corruption of that sex. Something like monasteries, without vows, would be a glorious design, and might be so set on foot, as to be the honour of a Queen on the throne; but I will pursue this no further.

My next address is to the nobility: most of what I have proposed to our gentry does, in a more eminent manner, belong to them: the higher their condition is raised above other gentlemen, so much the more eminent ought they to be in knowledge and virtue. The share they have in judicature, in the House of Lords, should oblige them to acquaint themselves with the rules and principles of law; though an unbiassed integrity, neither moved by friendship nor party, with a true understanding, will, for the most part, direct them in their judgment, since few cases occur where the point of law is dark or doubtful.

Every person of a high rank, whose estate can bear it, ought to have two persons to manage his education;—the one a governor to form his mind; to give him true notions; to represent religion and virtue in a proper light to him; to give him a view of geography, not barely describing the maps, but adding to it the natural history of every country, its productions, arts, and trade, with the religion and government of the country, and a general idea of the history of the world, and of the various revolutions that have happened in it: such a view will open a young person's mind; it must be often gone over, to fix it well. The antient government in Greece, but much more that of Rome, must be minutely delivered, that the difference between a just and a vicious government may be well apprehended. The fall of the Roman greatness, under the emperors, by reason of the absolute power that let vice in upon them, which corrupted not only their courts, but their armies, ought to

be fully opened. Then the Gothic government, and the feudal law, should be clearly explained, to open the original of our own constitution. In all this, the chief care of a wise and good former of youth ought to be, to possess a young mind with noble principles of justice, liberty, and virtue, as the true basis of government; and with an aversion to violence and arbitrary power, servile flattery, faction, and luxury, from which the corruption and ruin of all governments have arisen.

To this governor (qualified for all this to be sought out and hired at any rate) I would join a master for languages and other things, in which this young lord is to be instructed; who ought to be put under the direction and eye of the governor, that his time may not be lost in trifles; that nothing of pedantry or of affectation may be infused into a young mind, which is to be prepared for great things. A simplicity of style, with a true and grave pronounciation, ought to be well looked to; and this young nobleman ought to be accustomed, as he grows up, to speak his thoughts, on the sudden, with a due force and weight, both of words and voice. I have often wondered to see parents, who are to leave vast estates, and who stick at no expense in other things, yet be so frugal and narrow in the education of their children. They owe to their country a greater care in preparing the eldest, to make that figure in it, to which he is born; and they owe to their younger children, who are not to be so plentifully provided, such a liberal education as may fit them to answer the dignity of their birth, and prepare them for employments, by which they may in time give a further strength and addition to their family. I have been amazed to see how profuse some are in procuring good dancing, fencing, and riding masters for their children, and setting them out in fine clothes; and how sparing they are in that, which is the chief and most important thing, and which in time may become the most useful, both to themselves and to their country. I look on the education of the youth as the foundation of all that can be proposed for bettering the next age: it ought to be one of the chief cares of all governments, though there is nothing more universally neglected. How do some of our peers shine, merely by their virtue and knowledge; and what a contemptible figure do others make, with all their high titles and great estates?

Noblemen begin to neglect the having chaplains in their houses, and I do not much wonder at it, when I reflect on the behaviour of too many of these; light and idle, vain and insolent, impertinent and pedantic: by this want, however, the worship of God, and the instruction of servants, is quite neglected: but, if a little more care were taken to choose well, a lord might make good use of a chaplain, not only for those ends which I have mentioned, but for the reading such books as the lord desires to be well informed about, but has not leisure to peruse himself. These he may read by his chaplain, and receive an account of them from him, and see what are the principal things to be learnt from them, for which he may find leisure, though not for the whole book: by this means he may keep his chaplain well employed, and may increase his own stock of knowledge, and be well furnished with relation to all new books and new questions that are started. The family of a nobleman, well chosen and well ordered, might look like a little court in his country: for though it is a happiness to the nation, that the great number of idle and useless retainers that were about noblemen antiently is much reduced; yet still they must entertain many servants, to be either nuisances where they live, or to set a pattern to others. The greater men are, they ought to be the more modest and affable, and more easy of access, that so they may, by the best sort of popularity, render themselves acceptable to their country; they ought more particularly, to protect the oppressed, to mortify insolence and injustice, and to enter into the true grievances of their country; that they may represent these where it may be proper; and shew at least a tender care of those who ought to be protected by them, if they cannot effectually procure a redress of their grievances. A continued pursuit of such methods, with an exemplary deportment, would soon restore the nobility to their antient lustre, from which they seem very sensible how much they are fallen, though they do not take the proper methods to recover it. Have we not seen, in our time, four or five lords, by their knowledge, good judgment, and integrity, raise the House of Peers to a pitch of reputation and credit that seemed once beyond the expectation or belief of those who now see it? A progress in this method will give them such authority in the nation, that they will be able not only to

support their own dignity, but even to support the throne and the church. If so small a number has raised peerage to such a regard, that the people, contrary to all former precedents, have considered them more than their own representatives; what might not be expected from a greater number pursuing the same methods? These would become again that which their title imports, the peers of the crown as well as of the kingdom, of which that noble right of putting on their coronets at the coronation is a clear proof. Great titles, separated from the great estates and the interest their ancestors had in their countries, must sink, if not supported with somewhat of more value, great merit, and a sublime virtue.

Concerning
the two
houses of
parliament.

After I have offered what I think of the greatest importance to the several ranks of men in the nation, I go next to consider that august body in which they are all united; I mean the parliament. As long as elections are set to sale, so long we are under a disease in our vitals, that, if it be not remedied in time, must ruin us at last, and end in a change of government; and what that may be, God only knows.

Of elections.

All laws that can be made will prove ineffectual to cure so great an evil, till there comes to be a change and reformation of morals in the nation; we see former laws are evaded, and so will all the laws that can be made, till the candidates and electors both become men of another temper and other principles, than appear now among them: the expense of elections ruins families; and these families will come in time to expect a full reparation from the crown; or they will take their revenges on it, if that hope fails them: the commons will grow insolent upon it, and look on the gentry as in their dependance; during the war, and while the heat of parties ferments so much, it is not easy to find a proper remedy for this. When the war is over, one expedient in the power of the crown is, to declare that elections to parliament shall be annual: but if the same heat and rivalry of parties should still continue, that would ruin families but so much the sooner.

The most promising expedient, next to a general reformation, which may seem too remote and too hopeless a prospect, is to try how this great division of the nation into whig and tory may be lessened, if not quite removed:

great numbers on both sides are drawn to take up many groundless jealousies one of another, with which men of honest minds are possessed.

There are many of the tories that, without doubt, look towards St. Germain and France; but this is not true of the bulk of their party. Many infidels, who hate all religion and all churches alike (being only against the church of England because it is in possession), do join with the whigs and the dissenters, and appear for them; from thence the ill-disposed tories possess many of those who are better minded, with an opinion, that the whigs favour the dissenters, only to ruin and destroy religion; and great multitudes of unthinking and ignorant men are drawn into this snare. The principles of the whigs lead them to be for the Revolution, and for every thing that has been done to support and establish that; and therefore, those who, in their hearts, hate the Revolution, fortify and promote their designs, by keeping up a jealousy of all that body, which alone can and must support it. The whigs are indeed favoured by the dissenters, because they see their principles are for toleration, in which, it is visible, that the dissenters acquiesce, without pursuing any design, contrary to the established church, into which the far greater number of them might be brought, if but a very few concessions were made them. On the other hand, the whigs, seeing the leaders of the tories drive on ill designs so visibly, (endeavouring to weaken the government, to disjoint the alliance, and to put an untimely end to the war, thereby serving the interests of France and of the Pretender) and that they are followed in this by the body of the tories, who promote their elections, and adhere to them in all divisions in the two houses of parliament, and are united in one party with them, from thence conclude, that they are all equally concerned, and alike guilty; and thus they are jealous of them all. This aversion is daily growing, and will certainly continue as long as the war lasts; when that is ended, it may possibly abate: but so great a disease will not be cured, till a prince of spirit and authority, managed with temper and discretion, undertakes the cure. We see oaths and subscriptions make no discrimination, since the abjuration, though penned as fully as words can go, has been taken by some, who seem resolved to swallow down every thing in order to the throw-

Of the parties of whig and tory.

ing up all at once, if they should come to have a clear majority in parliament, and durst lay aside the mask.

In the parliament of 1701, called the impeaching parliament, and in the first parliament called by the Queen, there was a majority of tories; yet it appeared, the men of ill designs durst not venture to discover themselves to their party and to the nation; so they proceeded with caution. They designed in 1701 to have had the Duke of Anjou acknowledged, in order to have disgraced the late King, and his faithfullest ministers; that so the princes abroad, who could do nothing without assistance from England, despairing of that, might be forced to submit to the offers France made them. In the first year of the Queen's reign, they durst make no visible steps that way neither; but they tried to raise the heat against the dissenters, to make a breach on the toleration, and to give that body of men such a jealousy of the government, as should quite dishearten them, who were always the readiest to lend money to the public, without which the war could not be carried on vigorously. By this it may appear, that many of the tories have not those views and designs, that, perhaps, some of their leaders may be justly charged with. Now a wise and an active prince may find methods to undeceive those who are thus fatally imposed on, and led blindfold into the serving the ill designs of others; especially if he will propose it, as a sure way to his favour, for all whom he employs, to procure a better understanding and frequent meetings among the men of good lives and soft tempers in both parties, who, by a mutual conversation, will so open themselves to one another, that jealousies may by this means be easily removed. I can carry this no further at present; men of good intentions will easily find out proper methods to bring about this worthy design of healing a breach, that has rent the nation from top to bottom. The parties are now so stated and kept up, not only by the elections of parliament-men, that return every third year, but even by the yearly elections of mayors and corporation-men, that they know their strength; and in every corner of the nation, the two parties stand, as it were, listed against one another. This may come, in some critical time or other, at the death of a prince, or on an invasion, to have terrible effects; as at present it creates, among the best of

each side, a coldness and a jealousy, and a great deal of hatred and virulence among the much greater part.

There are two things of a very public nature that deserve the care of a parliament: the one must begin in ^{The correction of our laws.} House of Lords, and the other in the House of Commons. The law of England is the greatest grievance of the nation, very expensive and dilatory: there is no end of suits, especially when they are brought into Chancery. It is a matter of deep study, to be exact in the law; great advantages are taken upon inconsiderable errors; and there are loud complaints of that, which seems to be the chief security of property—I mean juries, which are said to be much practised upon. If a happy peace gives us quiet, to look to our own affairs, there cannot be a worthier design undertaken, than to reduce the law into method, to digest it into a body, and to regulate the Chancery, so as to cut off the tediousness of suits, and, in a word, to compile one entire system of our laws. The work cannot be undertaken, much less finished, but by so great an authority, as at least an address from the House of Lords to the Queen. Nothing, after the war is happily ended, can raise the glory of her reign more, than to see so noble a design set on foot in her time: this would make her name sacred to posterity, which would sensibly feel all the taxes they have raised fully repaid them, if the law were made shorter, clearer, more certain, and of less expense.

The other matter, that must take its rise in the House of ^{Provisions for the poor.} Commons, is about the poor, and should be much laid to heart. It may be thought a strange motion from a bishop, to wish that the act, for charging every parish to maintain their own poor, were well reviewed, if not quite taken away: this seems to encourage idle and lazy people in their sloth, when they know they must be maintained: I know no other place in the world where such a law was ever made. Scotland is much the poorest part of the island; yet the poor there are maintained by the voluntary charities of the people: Holland is the perfectest pattern for putting charity in a good method; the poor work as much as they can, they are humble and industrious, they never ask any charity, and yet they are well relieved. When the poor see that their supply must in a great measure depend on their behaviour and on their industry, as far as it

can go, it will both make them better in themselves, and move others to supply them more liberally; and when men's offerings are free (and yet are called for every time they go to church or to sacrament), this will oblige those who distribute them to be exact and impartial in it; since their ill conduct might make the givers trust them with their charity no more, but distribute it themselves. If a spirit of true piety and charity should ever prevail in this nation, those, whose condition raises them above the drudgery of servile labour, might employ some years of their life in this labour of love, and relieve one another in their turn, and so distribute among them this noble part of government. All this must begin in the House of Commons; and I leave it to the consideration of the wise and worthy members of that body, to turn their thoughts to this, as soon as by a happy peace we are delivered from the cares of the war, and are at leisure to think of our own affairs at home.

Of shorter
sessions of
parliament.

One thing more I presume to suggest, which is, that we may have fewer and shorter sessions of parliament; the staying long in town, both wastes estates and corrupts the morals of members; their beginning so late in the day to enter upon business, is one great occasion of long sessions; they are seldom met till about twelve o'clock; and, except on a day in which some great points are to be discussed, upon which the parties divide, they grow disposed to rise after two or three hours' sitting. The authority of the prince must be interposed to make them return to the old hours of eight and nine; and if, from that time, they sat till two, a great deal of business might be dispatched in a short session. It is also to be hoped, that, when the war is ended, parliaments will not give the necessary supplies from year to year, as in the time of war, but will settle methods for paying the public debt, and for the support of the government, for two if not for three years. The ill effects of an annual meeting of parliament are so visible and so great, that I hope nothing but invincible necessity will ever keep us under the continuance of so great an inconvenience. I speak of this with the more concern, because this is not only a great charge on bishops, heavy on the richer, and intolerable to the poorer bishoprics; but, chiefly, because it calls them away from their dioceses, and from minding their proper work, and fills their heads too much with se-

cular thoughts, and obliges them to mix too much with secular company; from which the more abstracted they are, as their minds will be purer and freer, so they will be able to follow their own business with less distraction, in a more constant attendance on the ministry of the word and prayer, to which, in imitation of the apostles, they ought to give themselves continually.

I have now gone over what seemed to me most practicable, as well as most important, for all ranks of men severally in the nation, as well as for that great union of them all, in the representative of the whole in parliament: I have not gone into wild notions of an imaginary reformation, more to be wished than hoped for; but have only touched on such ill practices, and bad dispositions, as, with a little care and good government, may be in some measure redressed and corrected. And now, having by all these, as by so many steps, risen up to the throne, I will end this address to the nation, with an humble representation to those who are to sit on it.

I have had the honour to be admitted to much free conversation with five of our sovereigns; King Charles the Second, King James the Second, King William the Third, Queen Mary, and Queen Anne. King Charles's behaviour was a thing never enough to be commended; he was a perfectly well-bred man, easy of access, free in his discourse, and sweet in his whole deportment; this was managed with great art, and it covered bad designs; it was of such use to him, that it may teach all succeeding princes, of what advantage an easiness of access and an obliging behaviour may be: this preserved him: it often disarmed those resentments which his ill conduct in every thing, both public and private, possessed all thinking people with very early, and all sorts of people at last: and yet none could go to him, but they were in a great measure softened before they left him: it looked like a charm, that could hardly be resisted: yet there was no good nature under that, nor was there any truth in him. King James had great application to business, though without a right understanding; that application gave him a reputation, till he took care to throw it off: if he had not come after King Charles, he would have passed for a prince of a sweet temper, and easy of access. King William was the reverse of

An address
to our
princes.

all this; he was scarce accessible, and was always cold and silent; he minded affairs abroad so much, and was so set on the war, that he scarce thought of his government at home: this raised a general disgust, which was improved by men of ill designs, so that it perplexed all his affairs, and he could scarce support himself at home, whilst he was the admiration of all abroad. Queen Mary was affable, cheerful, and lively, spoke much, and yet under great reserves, minded business, and came to understand it well; she kept close to rules, chiefly to those set her by the King, and she charmed all that came near her. Queen Anne is easy of access, and hears every thing very gently; but opens herself to so few, and is so cold and general in her answers, that people soon find that the chief application is to be made to her ministers and favourites, who in their turns have an entire credit and full power with her; she has laid down the splendour of a court too much, and eats privately; so that, except on Sundays, and a few hours, twice or thrice a-week at night in the drawing room, she appears so little, that her court is as it were abandoned. Out of all these princes' conduct, and from their successes in their affairs, it is evident what ought to be the measures of a wise and good prince, who would govern the nation happily and gloriously.

The first, the most essential, and most indispensable rule for a king is, to study the interest of the nation, to be ever in it, and to be always pursuing it: this will lay in for him such a degree of confidence, that he will be ever safe with his people, when they feel they are safe in him. No part of our story shews this more visibly than Queen Elizabeth's reign, in which the true interest of the nation was constantly pursued; and this was so well understood by all, that every thing else was forgiven her and her ministers both. Sir Simon Dewe's journal shews a treatment of parliaments that could not have been borne at any other time, or under any other administration. This was the constant support of King William's reign, and continues to support the present reign, as it will support all who adhere steadily to it.

A prince that would command the affections and purses of this nation, must not study to stretch his prerogative, or be uneasy under the restraints of law; as soon as this hu-

mour shews itself, he must expect that a jealousy of him, and an uneasy opposition to him, will follow through the whole course of his reign; whereas, if he governs well, parliaments will trust him, as much as a wise prince would desire to be trusted, and will supply him in every war that is necessary, either for their own preservation, or the preservation of those allies with whom mutual interests and leagues unite him: but though, soon after the Restoration, a slavish parliament supported King Charles in the Dutch war, yet the nation must be strangely changed, before any thing of that sort can happen again.

One of the most detestable and the foolishhest maxims, with relation to our government, is to keep up parties and a rivalry among them, to shift and change ministers, and to go from one party to another, as they can be brought in their turns to offer the prince more money, or to give him more authority; this will, in conclusion, render him odious and contemptible to all parties; who, growing accustomed to his fickleness, will never trust him, but rather study to secure themselves by depressing him; of which, the reign of Henry the Third of France is a signal instance. We saw what effects this had on King Charles's reign; and King William felt what an ill step he had made near the end of his reign, in pursuing this maxim. Nothing creates to a prince such a confidence, as a constant and clear firmness and steadiness of government, with an unblemished integrity in all his professions; and nothing will create a more universal dependance on him, than when it is visible he studies to allay the heats of parties, and to reconcile them to one another;—this will demonstrate that he loves his people, and that he has no ill designs of his own.

A prince, who would be well served, ought to seek out among his subjects the best and most capable of the youth, and see to their good education at home and abroad; he should send them to travel, and order his ministers abroad to keep such for some time about them, and to send them from court to court, to learn their language, and observe their tempers; if but twelve such were constantly kept on an allowance of 250*l.* a-year, the whole expense of this would rise but to 3000*l.* a-year; by this inconsiderable charge, a prince might have a constant nursery for a wise and able ministry; but those ought to be well chosen, none

CONCLUSION.

ought to pretend to the nomination; it ought to rise from the motion of the honestest and most disinterested of all his ministers to the prince in secret. As great a care ought to be had in the nominations of the chaplains of his ministers abroad, that there may be a breed of worthy clergymen, who have large thoughts and great notions, from a more enlarged view of mankind and of the world. If a prince would have all that serve him grateful and true to him, he must study to find out who are the properest and worthiest men, capable of employments, and prevent their applications, and surprise them with bestowing good posts unsought, and raising them higher as they serve well. When it is known that a prince has made it his maxim to follow this method in distributing his favours, he will cut off applications for them; which will otherwise create a great uneasiness to him, and have this certain ill-effect, that where there are many pretenders, one must have the preference to all the rest, so that many are mortified for being rejected, and are full of envy at him who has obtained the favour, and therefore will detract from him as much as possible. This has no where worse effects than among the clergy, in the disposal of the dignities of the church; and therefore Queen Mary resolved to break those aspirings, which resolution she carried on effectually for some years. A constant pursuing that maxim would have a great effect on the nation.

Frequent progresses round the nation, so divided, that once in seven, eight, or ten years, the chief places of it might be gone through, would recommend a prince wonderfully to the people; especially if he were gentle and affable, and would so manage his progress, that it should not be a charge to any, by refusing to accept of entertainments from any person whatsoever; for the accepting these only from such as could easily bear the charge of it, would be an affronting of others, who being of equal rank, though not of equal estates, would likewise desire to treat the prince. So to make a progress every where acceptable, and no where chargeable, the sure method would be, according to the established rule of the household, for the prince to carry the travelling wardrobe with him, and to take such houses in the way as are most convenient for him; but to entertain himself and his court there, and

have a variety of tables for such as may come to attend on him. On this Queen Mary had set her heart, if she had lived to see peace in her days : by this means a prince may see and be seen by his people ; he may know some men that deserve to be distinguished, of whom otherwise he would never have heard ; and he may learn and redress the grievances of his people, preventing all parliamentary complaints, except for such matters as cannot be cured but by a remedy in parliament. Methods like these would make a prince become the idol of his people.

It is certain, that their affections must follow a prince, who would consider government and the royal dignity as his calling, and would be daily employed in it, studying the good and happiness of his people, pursuing the properest ways for promoting it, without either delivering himself up to the sloth of luxury and vain magnificence, or affecting the barbarity of war and conquest ; which render those, who make the world a scene of blood and rapine, indeed the butchers of mankind. If these words seem not decent enough, I will make no other apology, but that I use them, because I cannot find worse ; for as they are the worst of men, so they deserve the worst of language. Can it be thought that princes are raised to the highest pitch of glory and wealth, on design to corrupt their minds with pride and contempt of the rest of mankind, as if they were made only to be the instruments of their extravagances, or the subjects of their passions and humours ? No ! they are exalted for the good of their fellow-creatures, in order to raise them to the truest sublimity, to become as like divinity as a mortal creature is capable of being. None will grudge them their great treasures and authority, when they see it is all employed to make their people happy. None will envy their greatness, when they see it accompanied with a suitable greatness of soul ; whereas, a magnified and flattered pageant will soon fall under universal contempt and hatred. There is not any one thing more certain and more evident, than that princes are made for the people, and not the people for them ; and perhaps there is no nation under heaven, that is more entirely possessed with this notion of princes, than the English nation is in this age ; so that they will soon be uneasy to a prince, who does not govern himself by this maxim, and in time grow very unkind to him.

Great care ought to be taken in the nomination of judges and bishops. I join these together, for law and religion, justice and piety, are the support of nations, and give strength and security to governments: judges must be recommended by those in the high posts of the law; but a prince may, by his own taste and upon knowledge, choose his bishops. They ought to be men eminent for piety, learning, discretion, and zeal; not broken with age, which will quickly render them incapable of serving the church to any good purpose; a person fit to be a bishop at sixty, was fit at forty; and had then spirit and activity, with a strength both of body and mind. The vast expense they are at, in entering on their bishoprics, ought to be regulated, no bishoprics can be, in any good degree, served under 1,000*l.* a-year at least. The judges ought to be plentifully provided for, that they may be under no temptation, to supply themselves by indirect ways. One part of a prince's care, to be recommended to judges in their circuits, is to know what persons are, as it were, hid in the nation, that are fit for employments, and deserve to be encouraged; of such, they ought to give an account to the lord chancellor, who ought to lay it before the throne. No crime ought to be pardoned, till the judge, who gave sentence, is heard, to give an account of the evidence, with the circumstances of the fact, as it appeared on the trial; no regard ought to be had to stories that are told, to move compassion; for in these, little regard is had to truth: and an easiness in pardoning, is, in some sort, an encouraging of crimes, and a giving license to commit them.

But to run out no longer into particulars, the great and comprehensive rule of all is, that a king should consider himself as exalted by Almighty God into that high dignity, as into a capacity of doing much good, and of being a great blessing to mankind, and in some sort a god on earth; and, therefore, as he expects, that his ministers should study to advance his service, his interests, and his glory, and that, so much the more, as he raises them to higher posts of favour and honour, so he, whom God has raised to the greatest exaltation this world is capable of, should apply himself wholly to cares becoming his rank and station; to be in himself a pattern of virtue and true religion, to promote justice, to relieve and revenge the op-

pressed, and to seek out men of virtue and piety, and bring them into such degrees of confidence as they may be capable of; to encourage a due and a generous freedom in their advices; to be ready to see his own errors, that he may correct them; and to entertain every thing that is suggested to him for the good of his people, and for the benefit of mankind; and to make a difference between those who court his favour for their own ends, who study to flatter, and by that, to please him, often to his own ruin, and those who have great views and noble aims, who set him on to pursue designs worthy of him, without mean or partial regards to any ends or interests of their own. It is not enough for a prince, not to encourage vice or impiety by his own ill practices; it ought to appear that these are odious to him, and that they give him horror. A declaration of this kind, solemnly made and steadily pursued, would soon bring on at least an exterior reformation, which would have a great effect on the body of the nation, and on the rising generation, though it were but hypocritically put on at first. Such a prince would be perhaps too great a blessing to a wicked world: Queen Mary seemed to have the seeds of all this in her; but the world was not worthy of her, and so God took her from it.

I will conclude this whole address to posterity with that which is the most important of all other things, and which alone will carry every thing else along with it, which is to recommend, in the most solemn and serious manner, the study and practice of religion to all sorts of men, as that which is both the light of the world, and the salt of the earth. Nothing does so open our faculties, and compose and direct the whole man, as an inward sense of God, of his authority over us; of the laws he has set us; of his eye ever upon us; of his hearing our prayers, assisting our endeavours, watching over our concerns, and of his being to judge and to reward or punish us in another state according to what we do in this. Nothing will give a man such a detestation of sin, and such a sense of the goodness of God, and of our obligations to holiness, as a right understanding, and a firm belief of the Christian religion. Nothing can give a man so calm a peace within, and such a firm security against all fears and dangers without, as the belief of a kind and wise Providence, and of a future

An exhortation to all, to become truly religious.

state. An integrity of heart gives a man a courage and a confidence that cannot be shaken: a man is sure that, by living according to the rules of religion, he becomes the wisest, the best and happiest creature that he is capable of being: honest industry, the employing his time well, and a constant sobriety, an undefiled purity and chastity, with a quiet serenity, are the best preservers of life and health: so that, take a man as a single individual, religion is his guard, his perfection, his beauty, and his glory: this will make him the light of the world, shining brightly, and enlightening many round about him.

Then take a man as a piece of mankind, as a citizen of the world, or of any particular state, religion is indeed then the salt of the earth; for it makes every man to be, to all the rest of the world, whatsoever any one can, with reason, wish or desire him to be. He is true, just, honest and faithful in the whole commerce of life, doing to all others, that which he would have others do to him: he is a lover of mankind, and of his country: he may, and ought to love some more than others; but he has an extent of love to all, of pity and compassion, not only to the poorest, but to the worst; for the worse any are, they are the more to be pitied. He has a complacency and delight in all that are truly, though but defectively good, and a respect and veneration for all that are eminently so: he mourns for the sins, and rejoices in the virtues of all that are round about him: in every relation of life, religion makes him answer all his obligations: it will make princes just and good, faithful to their promises, and lovers of their people: it will inspire subjects with respect, submission, obedience and zeal for their prince: it will sanctify wedlock to be a state of Christian friendship, and mutual assistance: it will give parents the truest love to their children, with a proper care of their education: it will command the returns of gratitude and obedience from children: it will teach masters to be gentle and careful of their servants, and servants to be faithful, zealous, and diligent in their master's concerns: it will make friends tender and true to one another; it will make them generous, faithful, and disinterested: it will make men live in their neighbourhood as members of one common body, promoting first the general good of the whole, and then the good of every particular, as far as a man's sphere

can go : it will make judges and magistrates just and patient, hating covetousness, and maintaining peace and order, without respect of persons : it will make people live in so inoffensive a manner, that it will be easy to maintain justice, whilst men are not disposed to give disturbance to those about them. This will make bishops and pastors faithful to their trust, tender to their people, and watchful over them ; and it will beget in the people an esteem for their persons, and their functions.

- Thus religion, if truly received, and sincerely adhered to, would prove the greatest of all blessings to a nation : but by religion, I understand somewhat more than the receiving some doctrines, though ever so true ; or the professing them, and engaging to support them, not without zeal and eagerness. What signify the best doctrines, if men do not live suitably to them ; if they have not a due influence upon their thoughts, their principles, and their lives ? Men of bad lives, with sound opinions, are self-condemned, and lie under a highly aggravated guilt ; nor will the heat of a party, arising out of interest, and managed with fury and violence, compensate for the ill lives of such false pretenders to zeal ; while they are a disgrace to that, which they profess and seem so hot for. By religion I do not mean an outward compliance with form and customs, in going to church, to prayers, to sermons, and to sacraments ; with an external shew of devotion, or, which is more, with some inward forced good thoughts, in which many may satisfy themselves, while this has no visible effect on their lives, nor any inward force to subdue and rectify their appetites, passions, and secret designs. Those customary performances, how good and useful soever, when well understood and rightly directed, are of little value, when men rest on them, and think that, because they do them, they have therefore acquitted themselves of their duty, though they continue still proud, covetous, full of deceit, envy, and malice : even secret prayers, the most effectual of all other means, is designed for a higher end, which is to possess our minds with such a constant and present sense of divine truths, as may make these live in us, and govern us ; and may draw down such assistances as may exalt and sanctify our natures.

So that by religion I mean, such a sense of divine truth

as enters into a man, and becomes a spring of a new nature within him ; reforming his thoughts and designs, purifying his heart, and sanctifying him, and governing his whole deportment, his words as well as his actions ; convincing him that it is not enough not to be scandalously vicious, or to be innocent in his conversation, but that he must be entirely, uniformly, and constantly pure and virtuous, animating him with a zeal to be still better and better, more eminently good and exemplary, using prayers and all outward devotions, as solemn acts testifying what he is inwardly and at heart, and as methods instituted by God, to be still advancing in the use of them further and further into a more refined and spiritual sense of divine matters. This is true religion, which is the perfection of human nature, and the joy and delight of every one that feels it active and strong within him : it is true, this is not arrived at all at once ; and it will have an unhappy allay, hanging long even about a good man : but as those ill mixtures are the perpetual grief of his soul, so it is his chief care to watch over and to mortify them ; he will be in a continual progress, still gaining ground upon himself : and, as he attains to a good degree of purity, he will find a noble flame of life and joy growing upon him. Of this I write with the more concern and emotion, because I have felt this the true and indeed the only joy, which runs through a man's heart and life : it is that which has been for many years my greatest support ; I rejoice daily in it ; I feel from it the earnest of that supreme joy which I pant and long for ; I am sure there is nothing else can afford any true or complete happiness. I have, considering my sphere, seen a great deal of all that is most shining and tempting in this world :—the pleasures of sense I did soon nauseate ; intrigues of state, and the conduct of affairs, have something in them that is more specious ; and I was, for some years, deeply immersed in these, but still with hopes of reforming the world, and of making mankind wiser and better : but I have found that which is crooked cannot be made straight. I acquainted myself with knowledge and learning, and that in a great variety, and with more compass than depth : but though wisdom excelleth folly, as much as light does darkness ; yet, as it is a sore travail, so it is so very defective, that what is wanting to complete it, cannot be numbered.

I have seen that two were better than one, and that a three-fold cord is not easily loosed, and have therefore cultivated friendship with much zeal and a disinterested tenderness; but I have found this was also vanity and vexation of spirit, though it be of the best and noblest sort. So that, upon great and long experience, I could enlarge on the preacher's text, *Vanity of vanities, and all is vanity*; but I must also conclude with him; fear God, and keep his commandments, for this is the all of man, the whole both of his duty and of his happiness. I do therefore end all in the words of David, of the truth of which, upon great experience and a long observation, I am so fully assured, that I leave these as my last words to posterity:—"Come ye children, hearken unto me; I will teach you the fear of the Lord; what man is he that desireth life, and loveth many days, that he may see good? keep thy tongue from evil, and thy lips from speaking guile; depart from evil, and do good, seek peace and pursue it. The eyes of the Lord are upon the righteous, and his ears are open to their cry; but the face of the Lord is against them that do evil, to cut off the remembrance of them from the earth. The righteous cry, and the Lord heareth and delivereth them out of all their troubles. The Lord is nigh unto them that are of a broken heart, and saveth such as be of a contrite spirit."

N. B. This was written in June, 1708, when the author thought himself near the end of the History.

A
CHRONOLOGICAL
AND
DISTINCT ACCOUNT
OF THE
WORKS
OF THE
RIGHT REVEREND AND LEARNED
DR. GILBERT BURNET,
LATE LORD BISHOP OF SALISBURY, &c.

/

A chronological and particular ACCOUNT of the WORKS of the Right Reverend and Learned DR. GILBERT BURNET, late Lord Bishop of Salisbury, connected and disposed under proper Heads, interspersed with some Critical and Historical Observations. By R. F.

N. B.—Those which have this mark * prefixed, are not included in the collection annexed to the History of his Life.

I. SERMONS.

*1. SUBJECTION for Conscience Sake Asserted; at Covent-Garden, 6th Decem. 1674, on Rom. xiii. 5. 1675. 4to.

*2 The Royal Martyr Lamented, at the Savoy, 30th Jan. 167 $\frac{1}{2}$. 2 Sam. i. 12. 1675. 4to.

These two Sermons were reprinted in 1710, 8vo.

3. Before the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, at St. Mary-le-Bow, 2d Sept. 1680, the Fast Day for the Fire of London. Amos iv. 11, 12. 1680. 4to.

4. Before the House of Commons, at St. Margaret's, Westminster, 22d December, 1680, the Fast Day. Rev. iii. 2, 3. 1681. 4to.

5. Before the Court of Aldermen, at St. Lawrence-Jewry, 30th Jan. 178 $\frac{1}{2}$. Zech. viii. 19. 1681. 4to.

6. An Exhortation to Peace and Union; before the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, &c. at St. Lawrence-Jewry, 29th Sep. 1681, the Day of electing the Lord Mayor. Matt. xii. 25. 1681. 4to.

7. At the Funeral of Mr. James Houlblon, at St. Mary Woolnoth, 28th June, 1682. Psalm xxxvii. 37. 1682. 4to.

8. ^a At the Chapel of the Rolls, 5th Nov. 1684. Psalm xxii. 21. 1684. 4to.

^a The author hath acquainted his readers in the preface, that, on account of this sermon, he had been unjustly censured as a person disaffected to his Majesty's government; and it soon appeared, that the court was very highly offended at him; for, by an order from the Right Honourable Francis North, Lord Guilford, lord keeper of the great seal, directed to Sir Harbottle Grimston, knt. master of the rolls, in the next month, he was forbid preaching any more at the Rolls Chapel. Soon after he left the kingdom, from just apprehensions of danger from his enemies, that he might enjoy a place of safe retreat in foreign countries, where he continued till the happy Revolution, 1688.—See the Life of the Author, p. xxiv. General Dictionary, vol. iii. p. 706. Biographia Britannica, vol. ii. p. 1038.

9. Before the Prince of Orange, at St. James's, 23d Dec. 1688. Psalm cxviii. 23. 1689. 4to.

10. Before the House of Commons, 31st Jan. 1688⁸, the Day of Thanksgiving for the Deliverance of this Kingdom from Popery and Arbitrary Power, by his Highness the Prince of Orange's means. Psalm cxliv. 15. 1689. 4to.

11. At the Coronation of King William and Queen Mary, at Westminster-Abbey, 11th April, 1689. 2 Sam. xxiii. 3, 4. 1689. 4to.

12. Before the House of Peers, at Westminster-Abbey, 5th Nov. 1689. Micah vi. 5. 1689. 4to.

13. An Exhortation to Peace and Unity, at St. Lawrence-Jewry, 26th Nov. 1689. Acts vii. 16. 1689. 4to.

14. Before the King and Queen, at Whitehall, on Christmas-day, 1689. 1 Tim. iii. 16. 1689. 4to.

15. Before the Court of Aldermen, at St. Mary-le-Bow, on the Fast Day, 12th March, 1688⁹. Luke xix. 41, 42. 1690. 4to.

16. Before the Queen, at Whitehall, on the Fast Day, 16th July, 1690. Psalm lxxxv. 8. 1690. 4to.

17. Before the King and Queen, at Whitehall, on the Day of Thanksgiving, 19th Oct. 1690. Psalm cxliv. 10, 11. 1690. 4to.

18. At the Funeral of the Right Honourable Anne, Lady Dowager Brook, at Breamor, 19th Feb. 1690¹. Prov. xxxi. 30, 31. 1691. 4to.

19. Before the King and Queen, at Whitehall, on the Fast Day, 29th April, 1691. Psalm xii. 1. 1691. 4to.

20. Before the King and Queen, at Whitehall, on the Day of Thanksgiving, 26th Nov. 1691. Prov. xx. 28. 1691. 4to.

21. At the Funeral of the Honourable Robert Boyle, Esq. at St. Martin's in the Fields, 7th Jan. 1691². Eccles. ii. 26. 1692. 4to.

22. Before the Queen, at Whitehall, the third Sunday in Lent, 11th March, 1691³. 1 Cor. i. 26. 1694. 4to.

23. Before the Queen, at Whitehall, 29th May, 1694. Psalm cv. 5. 1694. 4to.

24. At the Funeral of the Most Rev. Dr. John Tillotson, late Archbishop of Canterbury, at St. Lawrence-Jewry, 30th Nov. 1694. 2 Tim. iv. 7. 1694. 4to.

25. Before the King, at St. James's, the first Sunday in Lent, 10th Feb. 1691⁴. 2 Cor. vi. 1. 1695. 4to.

26. Before the King, at Whitehall, on Christmas-day, 1696. Gal. iv. 4. 1696. 4to.

27. Before the King, at Whitehall, the third Sunday in Lent, 7th March, 1696⁵. Ephes. v. 1. 1697. 4to.

28. Before the King, at Whitehall, 2d December, 1697, the Day of Thanksgiving for the Peace. 2 Chron. ix. 8. 1697. 4to.

29. Of Charity to the Household of Faith; before the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, &c. at St. Bride's, on Easter Monday, 25th April, 1698. Gal. vi. 10. 1698. 4to.

30. Charitable Reproof; before the Societies for Reformation of Manners, at St. Mary-le-Bow, 25th March, 1700. Prov. xxvii. 5, 6. 1700. 4to.

31. At St. James's Church, upon reading the Brief for the persecuted Exiles of the Principality of Orange, Jan. 170 $\frac{3}{4}$. 1 Cor. xii. 26, 27. 1704. 4to.

32. ^b Before the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, at St. Mary-le-Bow, 18th Feb. 170 $\frac{3}{4}$. Malachi i. 11. 1704. 4to.

* 33. At Salisbury, at the Triennial Visitation, Oct. 1704. Phil. ii. 1, 2. 1704. 4to.

* 34. At St. James's, 10th March, 170 $\frac{5}{6}$, the fifth Sunday in Lent. Psalm xlix. 20. 1706. 4to.

* 35. Before the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, &c. at St. Sepulchre's, on Easter Monday, 25th March, 1706. Matth. xxiv. 12. 4to.

* 36. On the Day of Thanksgiving, 27th June, 1706. Deut. iv. 6, 7, 8. 8vo.

* 37. Before the Queen, and the two Houses of Parliament, at St. Paul's, 31st Dec. 1706, the Day of Thanksgiving, for the wonderful Successes of that Year. Psalm lxxii. 4. 1706. 8vo.

* 38. At Salisbury, 29th May, 1710. Matth. xxii. 21. 1710. 8vo.

* 39 { At Salisbury, 5th Nov. 1710, and 7th Nov. }
and { 1710, the Day of Thanksgiving. Psalm } 1710. 8vo.
* 40. { cxliv. 15. }

* 41. Before the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, &c. at St. Bride's, on Easter Monday, 2d April, 1711. Psalm cxxii. 6, 7, 8, 9. 1711. 4to.

* 42. Before the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, &c. at St. Bride's, on Easter Monday, 29th March, 1714. Daniel iv. 27. 1714. 8vo.

* 43. At Salisbury, at the Triennial Visitation, 1714. Acts xx. 28. 4to.

* 44. Before the King at St. James's, 31st Oct. 1714. Psalm ii. 10, 11. 8vo.

^b The sermons from number 3 to number 32 inclusive, are in the collection of tracts and discourses, written and published in the years 1677—1704, in three volumes 4to. collected in 1704.

45. Before the King and Queen, at Hampton Court, on the first Fast Day, 5th June, 1689. ^c 2 Chron. xv. 2.

46. ^d Prepared by Queen Mary's order for the Day of Thanksgiving, 27th Oct. 1692, for the Victory at Sea, near La Hogue. Exod. iv. 13.

47. Before Queen Anne upon her Accession to the Throne, at St. James's, 15th March, 170 $\frac{1}{2}$, the fourth Sunday in Lent. Isaiah xlix. 23.

48. ^e Against Popery, at St. Clements, near the end of King Charles the Second's Reign. Ephes. i. 3.

49 } Before the Lord William Russel, in Newgate, 20th July,
and } 1683, the day before he suffered. Rev. xiv. 13. Psalm
50. } xxiii. 4.

51. Upon Death, in the Cathedral Church at Salisbury, on Occasion of the Death of the Reverend Mr. Edward Young, Dean of Salisbury, who died 7th Aug. 1705. Eccles. xii. 7.

52. Upon the Love of God. Matth. xxii. 35, 36, 37, 38.

53. Upon the Love of our Neighbour. Matth. xxii. 39, 40.

54. Against Perjury. Levit. xix. 12.

55. Of the Nature of Oaths, and against profane Swearing. James v. 12.

56. Upon Keeping Holy the Sabbath-day. Exod. xx. 8, 9, 10, 11.

57. Against Adultery and Uncleaness. Heb. xiii. 4.

58. Against Drunkenness. Ephes. v. 18.

^c In the year 1713, the Bishop published, in 8vo. a volume, entitled "Some Sermons preached on several Occasions, and an Essay towards a new Book of Homilies, in Seven Sermons, prepared at the desire of Archbishop Tillotson, and some other bishops." See number 45—58. The preface to these sermons, containeth a laboured and most judicious defence of the Revolution; in which, the lawfulness and necessity of that important transaction are fully justified against the reproaches and misrepresentations of the non-jurors, and others, who are disaffected to the present happy constitution.

^d The reasons why this sermon was not preached at the time for which it was prepared, the reader may find distinctly represented in the life of Archbishop Tillotson, by the Reverend Dr. Birch, p. 305.

^e Soon after this sermon was preached, the resentment of the court against our author was so great, that he was discharged from his lecture at St. Clements, by virtue of the King's mandate, to the Reverend Dr. Gregory Hascard, rector of that parish. See the Life of the Author, p. xxiv. Biographia Britannica, vol. ii. p. 1038.

II. DISCOURSES AND TRACTS IN DIVINITY.

* 1. On the Importance of substantial Piety and vital Religion ; a preface to a book entitled "The Life of God in the Soul of Man ; or, the Nature and Excellency of the Christian Religion." By Henry Seougal, M. A. sometime Professor of Divinity in the University of Aberdeen. 1688. 8vo.

2. Instructions for the Archdeacons of the Diocese of Salisbury, to be delivered by them to the Clergy in their Easter Visitations ; together with a Letter from their Diocesan, dated 22nd April, 1690. 1690. 4to.

* 3. A short Directory, containing Proper Rules how to prepare Young Persons for Confirmation. 1690. 4to.

4. ^f A Discourse concerning the Pastoral Care. 1692. 4to. and 8vo.

5. Four Discourses delivered to the Clergy of the Diocese of Salisbury, concerning, I. The Truth of the Christian Religion. II. The Divinity and Death of Christ. III. The Infallibility and Authority of the Church. IV. The Obligations to continue in the Communion of the Church ; with a large Prefatory Epistle to the Clergy of the said Diocese.^g

* 6. ^h A Letter to the Reverend Dr. John Williams, in defence of the " Discourse concerning the Divinity and Death of Christ." 1695. 4to.

* 7. ⁱ Animadversions upon a late Book, written by Mr. Hill,

^f A third edition of this serious and excellent Discourse was printed in November, 1712, in 8vo. ; to which were added a new preface, representing the true state of the church and clergy of England at that juncture, when the nation was inflamed and divided by the artful intrigues and clamours of the high church incendiaries ; and a tenth chapter concerning presentations to benefices, and simony.

^g This prefatory address, dated 8th December, 1693, exhibited a distinct account of the design of each discourse, and abundantly confuteth the objections which had been alleged against the Revolution.

^h This letter is dated 2d February, 1694-5, and designed as a reply to the objections of an unitarian writer, contained in " Some Considerations on the Explications of the Doctrine of the Trinity," published 1694, in 4to. and is annexed to Dr. Williams's Vindication of Archbishop Tillotson and Bishop Stillingfleet, against the remarks of the said writer.

ⁱ " The Vindication of the Primitive Fathers," &c. written by the

falsely called "A Vindication of the Primitive Fathers against the Imputations of Gilbert, Lord Bishop of Sarum." 1695. 4to.

8. ^k Reflections upon a Pamphlet, entitled, "Some Discourses upon Dr. Burnet and Dr. Tillotson, occasioned by the late Funeral Sermon of the former upon the latter." 1696. 8vo.

9. ^l An Exposition of the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England. 1699. Folio.

The fifth edition of this work was published in 1746, in a large 8vo.

10. Remarks on the Examination of the Second Article of our Church. 1702. 4to.

* 11. A Charge given at the Triennial Visitation of the Diocese of Salisbury, in October, 1704, prefixed to a Sermon preached at the same Visitation. See Sermons, No. 33. 1704. 4to.

12. An Exposition of the Church Catechism, for the Use of the Diocese of Salisbury. 1710. 8vo.

* 13. A Charge given at the Triennial Visitation of the Diocese of Salisbury, 1714; published together with a Sermon preached at the same Visitation. See Sermons, No. 43. 1714. 4to.

Reverend Mr. Samuel Hill, Archdeacon of Wells, and Rector of Kilmington, in the county of Somerset, was principally designed against some explications of the fathers relating to the doctrine of the Trinity, which the Bishop had remarked upon in his second "Discourse on the Divinity and Death of Christ."

^k These discourses are said to be written by Dr. George Hickes, a virulent adversary to the Archbishop and our Bishop, whose "Reflections," as Dr. Birch observeth, contain a strong and clear answer to them.—Life of Archbishop Tillotson, p. 345.

^l This learned, judicious, and instructive performance, the result of great abilities and indefatigable industry, was drawn up in the year 1694, and sent to Archbishop Tillotson, who revised and altered it in several places, and expressed his astonishment to see so vast a work begun and finished in less than a year; and declared the great pleasure and satisfaction with which he read it over.—See Dr. Birch's Life of Archbishop Tillotson, p. 342.

This work was afterwards perused and approved by Archbishops Tenison and Sharp, Bishops Stillingfleet, Patrick, Lloyd, Hall, and Williams; the last of these strongly recommended the considering them only as articles of peace, in which men were bound to acquiesce without contradiction; not as articles of faith, which they were obliged to believe.—Life of Bishop Burnet, p. 74.

The Reverend Dr. Jonathan Edwards, principal of Jesus College in Oxford, having published "An Examination of the Exposition of the Second Article," 1702, 4to. the Bishop soon replied to the exceptions of that writer in a small tract, entitled "Remarks," &c.

III. TRACTS AGAINST POPERY.

1. *The Mystery of Iniquity Unveiled: in a Discourse, wherein is held forth the Opposition of the Doctrine, Worship, and Practices of the Roman Church, to the Nature, Designs, and Characters of the Christian Faith.*^m 1673. 12mo.

* 2. *Rome's Glory, or a Collection of divers Miracles wrought by Popish Saints, collected out of their own Authors, with a Prefatory Discourse, declaring the impossibility and folly of such vain impostures.* 1673. 8vo.

3. *An Account given by J. Ken, a Jesuit, of the Truth of Religion examined.* 1674. 8vo.

* 4. *A Rational Method for proving the Truth of the Christian Religion, as it is professed in the Church of England, in answer to "A Rational Compendious Way to convince without dispute all Persons whatsoever dissenting from the true Religion; by J. Ken."* 1675. 8vo.

5. *A Relation of a Conference held about Religion at London, 3d April, 1676; by Edward Stillingfleet, D. D. and Gilbert Burnet, with some Gentlemen of the Church of Rome, (Mr. Edmund Coleman, a Jesuit, Secretary to the Dutchess of York, and others.) At the end of the "Relation of the Conference," are added two Discourses: I. To shew how unreasonable it is to ask for express words of Scripture, in proving all Articles of Faith. II. To shew by what means the Doctrines of the Real Presence and Transubstantiation were introduced into the Church.* 1676. 8vo.

This piece was reprinted in 1687. 4to.

6. *A Vindication of the Ordinations of the Church of England; in which it is demonstrated, that all the essentials of Ordination, according to the practice of the Primitive and Greek Churches are still retained in our Church; in Answer to a Paper written by one of the Church of Rome, to prove the nullity of our Orders, and given to a Person of Quality. [Sir Philip Terwhit's lady, at whose house the Conference about Religion was held, 3d April, 1676.]* 1677. 8vo.

The second edition of the "Vindication of the Ordinations," &c. was published, 1688. 4to.

7. *A Letter written upon the Discovery of the late Plot.* 1678. 4to.

8. *The Unreasonableness and Impiety of Popery, in a Second Letter written upon the Discovery of the late Plot.* 1678. 4to.

^m A second edition of this tract appeared in 1688, in 4to., in which the first part of the title, viz. "The Mystery of Iniquity Unveiled," was omitted.

9. A Decree made at Rome, 2d March, 1679, condemning some Opinions of the Jesuits and other Casuists. 1679. 4to.

* 10. The Infallibility of the Romish Church examined and confuted. 1680. 4to.

* 11. The Policy of Rome, as delivered by Cardinal Palavicini in his History of the Council of Trent, with a Preface by G. Burnet, D.D. 1681. 8vo.

12. The Letter written by the last Assembly-General of the Clergy of France to the Protestants, inviting them to return to their Communion, together with the Methods proposed by them for their Conviction, translated and examined. 1683. 8vo.

13. A Letter containing Remarks on the two ⁿ Papers, written by his late Majesty, King Charles the Second, concerning Religion. This Letter was written 1685, but not published till 1688. 4to.

14. An Inquiry into the Reasons for abrogating the Test imposed on all Members of Parliament, offered by Dr. Samuel Parker, Bishop of Oxford. 1688. 4to.

15. A Second Part of the Inquiry into the Reasons offered by Dr. Samuel Parker, Bishop of Oxford, for abrogating the Test; or, an Answer to his Plea for Transubstantiation, and for acquitting the Church of Rome of Idolatry. 1688. 4to.

16. A Continuation of the Second Part of the Inquiry into the Reasons offered by Dr. Samuel Parker, Bishop of Oxford, for abrogating the Test relating to the Idolatry of the Church of Rome. 1688. 4to.

The two last-mentioned pieces, viz. numbers 15 and 16 were some few months after published in one tract, with this title: "A Discourse concerning Transubstantiation and Idolatry; being an Answer to the Bishop of Oxford's Plea relating to those two Points." 1688. 4to.

17 and 18. ° Reflections on "the Relation of the English Reformation, and the Theses relating to it," lately printed at Oxford, by Obadiah Walker, Master of University College, in two Parts. Amsterdam, 1688. London, 1689. 4to.

ⁿ These papers were published by King James II. soon after the death of his royal brother. He declared that he found them in the closet of the deceased King, and written with his own hand; they relate to the "unity and authority of the catholic church, and the reformation of the church of England."

° In these reflections, &c. not only the general grounds of the reformation of the church of England are considered, but the matters of fact relating to that important affair are briefly and judiciously set forth and illustrated.

IV. TRACTS, POLEMICAL, POLITICAL, AND MISCELLANEOUS.

1. A Modest and Free Conference between a Conformist and Nonconformist, in seven Dialogues. Glasgow, 1669. 12mo.

2. A Vindication of the Authority, Constitution, and Laws of the Church and State of Scotland, in Four Conferences, wherein the Answer to the Dialogues betwixt the Conformist and the Nonconformist is examined. Glasgow, 1673. 12mo.

A new edition of this piece was published 1724. 8vo.

3. Observations on the first and second of the Canons commonly ascribed to the Holy Apostles; wherein an Account of the Primitive Constitution and Government of Churches is contained. Drawn from antient and acknowledged writings. Glasgow, 1673. 12mo.

* 4. ^p A Resolution of two important Cases of Conscience. Question the first: Is a Woman's Barrenness a just ground for Divorce, or for Polygamy? Question the second: Is Polygamy, in any case, lawful under the Gospel? Both which Cases the Author resolved in the affirmative.

* 5. A modest Survey of a Discourse, entitled: "The Naked Truth; or, the True State of the Primitive Church, by an Humble Moderator" (Dr. Herbert Crofts, Bishop of Hereford.) 1676. 4to.

6. A Translation of Sir Thomas More's Utopia, with a Preface concerning Translations. 1683. 8vo.

7. Reasons against the Repealing the Acts of Parliament concerning the Test: humbly offered to the Consideration of the Members of both Houses, at their next Meeting, on the 28th of April, 1687. 1687. 4to.

8. Some Reflections on his Majesty's Proclamation of the 12th of February, 168⁶/₇, for a Toleration in Scotland; together with the said Proclamation. 1687. 4to.

^p These papers are published in the Appendix to the Memoirs, &c. of John Macky, Esq. p. 25, &c. The occasion of his writing these pieces, about the year 1671, at the request of John Maitland, Earl of Lauderdale, the King's high commissioner to the parliament of Scotland, afterwards created Duke of Lauderdale and Earl of Guilford, our author himself hath informed us in his "Reflections on Dr. Hickeys's Discourses," &c. p. 76, &c. He adds, that in a letter to the Earl, he retracted the whole paper, and answered all the material things in it.

9. A Letter containing some Reflections on his Majesty's Declaration for Liberty of Conscience, dated April 4, 1687. 4to.

10. An Answer to Mr. Henry Payne's Letter concerning his Majesty's Declaration of Indulgence, written to the Author of a Letter to a Dissenter. 1687. 4to.

11. An Answer to a Paper printed with allowance, entitled, "A new Test of the Church of England's Loyalty." 1687. 4to.

12. The Earl of Melfort's Letter to the Presbyterian Ministers in Scotland, written in his Majesty's Name upon their Address: together with some Remarks upon it. 1687. 4to.

13. Reflections on a Pamphlet, entitled, "*Parliamentum Pacificum*," (written by John Northleigh, M. D.) licensed by the Earl of Sunderland, and printed in London, in March, 1688. 4to.

14. An Apology for the Church of England, with Relation to the Spirit of Persecution for which she is accused. 1688. 4to.

15. Some Extracts out of Mr. James Stewart's Letters, from 12th July to 19th November, 1687, which were communicated to Mynheer Fagel, the States' Pensioner of the Province of Holland; together with some References to Mr. Stewart's printed letter. 1688. 4to.

16. An edict in the Roman Law, (*de inspiciendo ventre, custodiendoque partu*), concerning the visiting a Woman with Child, and the looking after what may be born of her; with Observations from Aristophanes and Cicero, relating to the like cases. 1688. 4to.

17. An Inquiry into the Measures of Submission to the Supreme Authority, and of the Grounds upon which it may be lawful or necessary for Subjects to defend their Religion, Lives, and Liberties. 1688. 4to.

18. A Review of the Reflections on the Prince of Orange's Declaration; printed at Exeter, in November, 1688. 4to.

19. The Citation of Gilbert Burnet, D. D. to answer in Scotland, on 27th June, Old Style, 1687, for High Treason; together with his Answer, and three Letters written by him upon that Subject to the Right Honourable the Earl of Midletoun, his Majesty's Secretary of State. 1688. 4to.

20. Dr. Burnet's Vindication of Himself from the Calumnies with which he is aspersed in a Pamphlet, entitled "*Parliamentum Pacificum*" (written by John Northleigh, M. D.), licensed by the Earl of Sunderland, and printed in London, March, 1688. 4to.

21. An Inquiry into the present State of Affairs; and, in particular, whether we owe Allegiance to the King in these Circumstances? And, whether we are bound to treat with him, and call him back again, or not? Published by authority. 1688. 4to.

22. Reflections on a Paper, entitled "His Majesty's Reasons for withdrawing himself from Rochester. Published by authority. 1688. 4to.

23. ^a A Pastoral Letter, written by Gilbert, Lord Bishop of Sarum, to the Clergy of his Diocese, concerning the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy to King William and Queen Mary; dated 15th May, 1688. 4to.

24. A Speech in the House of Lords, December, 1703, upon the Bill entitled, "An Act for preventing Occasional Conformity." 1703. 4to.

* 25. A Speech in the House of Lords, 16th March, 17⁰³/₁₀, upon the first Article of the Impeachment of Dr. Henry Sacheverel. 1710. 8vo.

* 26. Four Letters between Gilbert, Lord Bishop of Salisbury, and Mr. Henry Dodwell, on occasion of Mr. Dodwell's Resolution to leave the Nonjurors and return to the Communion of the Church of England. 1713. 8vo.



V. HISTORY AND HISTORICAL TRACTS.

1. Memoirs of James and William, Dukes of Hamilton. 1676. Folio.

2. ^r The History of the Reformation of the Church of England;

^a This Pastoral Letter having, in pages 19, 20, 21, touched upon the right of conquest, gave such offence to some persons in both houses of parliament, that it was ordered to be burned by the hands of the common executioner, in 1693.—See Bishop Kennet's Complete History of England, vol. iii. p. 587.

^r Upon the publication of the first volume of this most excellent work, the author obtained a distinguishing mark of honour, never before or since paid to any writer: he had the thanks of both houses of parliament, with a desire that he would prosecute the undertaking, and complete that valuable work. Accordingly, in less than two years after, he printed the second volume, which met with the same general approbation as the first; and such was his readiness in composing, that he wrote the historical part in the compass of six weeks, after all his materials were laid in order.—See the Life of the Author, p. xvi.

The character given of this useful history, by some celebrated writers, deserveth a place in this account of his works. Dr. William Nicholson, Bishop of Carlisle, afterwards Archbishop of Cashel, in Ireland, in his English Historical Library, p. 119, ob-

in three volumes, folio. The first volume was published 1679; the second in 1681; and the third in 1714.

3. ^a An Abridgment of the History of the Reformation. 1682.

In support of the facts contained in the History of the Reformation, the Author published,

* 4. Reflections on Mr. Varilla's History of the Revolutions that have happened in Europe in Matters of Religion, and more particularly in his Ninth Book that relates to England. Amsterdam, 1686. 12mo.

serveth, that the author "hath given a punctual account of all the affairs of the Reformation, from its beginning, in the reign of Henry the Eighth, to its final establishment under Queen Elizabeth, 1559. That the whole is penned in a masculine style, such as becomes an historian, and is the property of this author in all his writings. The collection of records, which he gives at the end of each volume, are good vouchers of the truth of what he delivers in the body of the history, and are much more perfect than could reasonably be expected, after the pains taken, in Queen Mary's days, to suppress every thing that carried marks of reformation upon it."

Another writer says, that these volumes "are pieces as profitable as inimitable; and, for their sincerity, impartiality, and the authentic proof of their authority, are justly valued by all the learned men of the reformed nations of Europe, as likewise they are envied (not contemned) by the men of letters who are enemies to the Reformation. In these books his name will shine while names of men remain, and as long as learning is in the world, or the world stands for men to learn; this champion of the Reformation will be read as the most authentic writer, to inform posterity of the manner, method, and nature of that great transaction in these kingdoms, which overthrew the Romish hierarchy, deposed the tyranny of popery in God's church, introducing gradually the truth and purity of doctrine and worship, which is now enjoyed by us all."—See Dr. Charles Owen's Funeral Sermon, preached upon the occasion of the Death of the late Bishop of Sarum, p. 28, 29.

^a In this work the author tells us, he had wholly waved every thing that belonged to the records, and the proof of what he relates, or to the confutation of the falsehoods that run through the popish historians; all which may be found in the history at large.

To the edition, in two volumes 12mo. published 1719, there was added another volume of that size, containing an abridgment of the third volume, folio, by Gilbert Burnet, M. A. the Bishop's second son; a clergyman of great worth, and distinguished eminence for his uncommon sagacity and solid judgment; whose Answer to Mr. William Law's Second Letter to the Bishop of Bangor, is allowed to be among the best pieces in that controversy. See Mr. Hearne's Account of the Bangerian Controversy, p. 22.

* 5. A Defence of the Reflections on the Ninth Book of the first Volume of Mr. Varilla's History of Heresies; being a Reply to his Answer. Amsterdam, 1687. 12mo.

* 6. A Continuation of Reflections on Mr. Varilla's History of Heresies; particularly on that which relates to English Affairs, in his third and fourth tomes. Amsterdam, 1687. 12mo.

7. A Relation of the barbarous and bloody Massacre of about an hundred thousand Protestants, begun at Paris, and carried on over all France by the Papists, in the year 1572. Collected out of Mezeray, Thuanus, and other approved Authors. 1678. 4to.

* 8. The Last Words of Dr. Lewis du Moulin; or, his Retraction of all the Personal Reflections he had made on the Divines of the Church of England. 1680. 4to.

9. Some Passages of the Life and Death of the Right Hon. John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester, who died 26th July, 1680, written by his Lordship's direction on his death-bed. 1680. 8vo.

10. The Conversion and Persecution of Eve Cohan, now called Elizabeth Verboon; a Person of Quality of the Jewish Religion. 1680. 4to.

* 11. An Account of the Confessions of Lieutenant John Sterne, and George Borosky, executed for the Murder of Thomas Thynn, Esq. 10th March, 168½. 1682. Folio.

12. News from France: in a Letter, giving a Relation of the Present State of the Difference between the French King and the Court of Rome; to which is added, the Pope's Brief to the Assembly of the Clergy, and the Protestation made by them in Latin, together with an English Translation of them. 1682. 4to.

13. The History of the Rights of Princes, in the disposing of Ecclesiastical Benefices and Church Lands; relating chiefly to the Pretensions of the Crown of France to the Regale, and late Contests with the Court of Rome. To which is added, a Collection of Letters written upon that Occasion: and of some other remarkable papers put in an Appendix. 1682. 8vo.

14. An Answer to the "Animadversions on the History of the Rights of Princes," &c. 1682. 4to.

15. The Life and Death of Sir Matthew Hale, Knt. sometime Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench. 1682. 8vo.

There was a second edition of this tract published in 12mo. 1682. To which were annexed, "Additional Notes on the Life and Death of Sir Matthew Hale," written by Richard Baxter, at the request of Edward Stephens, Esq. the publisher of his Contemplations, and his familiar friend.

16. The Life of Dr. William Bedel, Bishop of Kilmore, in Ire-

land; together with the Copies of certain Letters which passed between Spain and England in matters of Religion, concerning the general motives to the Roman obedience, between Mr. James Wadsworth, a late Pensioner of the Holy Inquisition in Seville, and the said William Bedel, then Minister of the Gospel in Suffolk. 1685. 8vo.

17. Three Letters in Defence of some Passages in the History of the Reformation, in answer to the Reflections of the Rev. Mr. Simon Lowth, Vicar of Cosmus Blene, in his book of the subject of Church Power. 1685. 4to.

18. ^t A Letter written to Dr. Burnet, giving some account of Cardinal Pole's secret powers; from which it appears that it was never intended to confirm the alienation that was made of the Abbey Lands. To which are added, two Breves that Cardinal Pole brought over, and some other of his Letters that were never before printed. 1685. 4to.

19. ^u Travels through France, Italy, Germany, and Switzerland; describing their Religion, Learning, Government, Customs, Natural History, Trade, &c. written in Letters to the Honourable Robert Boyle, Esq. To which is added, an Appendix, containing

^t The Letter relating to Cardinal Pole, hath been ascribed to Sir William Coventry, Knt. youngest son to Thomas Coventry, Lord Cōventry, lord keeper of the great seal in the reign of King Charles the First. Of this worthy gentleman the following narrative may be acceptable to the reader. He was appointed secretary to the Duke of York soon after the Restoration, and also secretary to the Admiralty, and elected burgess for Great Yarmouth, in Norfolk, in the parliament which met in May, 1661. He was created doctor of the civil law at Oxford, 1663; sworn of the privy council, and received the honour of knighthood, 26th June, 1665; made one of the commissioners of the Treasury, 24th May, 1667.—See Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. ii. p. 601. Edit. 1692.

He was, as Bishop Burnet relates, “a man of great notions and eminent virtues; the best speaker in the House of Commons, and capable of bearing the chief ministry, as it was once thought he was very near it, and deserved it more than all the rest did.”—See Collins's *Peerage of England*, vol. ii. part ii. 8vo. 1735.

^u There have been several editions of this curious and entertaining narrative, the last of which was printed 1750, 12mo. It vastly surpasseth every thing in its kind extant, in the style, sentiments, matter, and method. The fine spirit which shineth through it is admirable. It is likely that he exerted himself in an extraordinary manner in the composition, having chosen a person of so eminent a character for his patron. His observations upon the corruptions and impostures of popery must afford peculiar pleasure to every genuine and consistent protestant.

Remarks on Swisserland and Italy, by a Person of Quality. 1687. 12mo.

20. A Relation of the Death of the Primitive Persecutors. Translated from the Latin of Lactantius. With a large preface concerning Persecution, in which the Principles, the Spirit, and Practice of it are freely censured and condemned. Amsterdam, 1687. 8vo.

The second edition was published in London, 1713. 8vo.

21. A Letter to Mr. Thevenot, containing a censure of Mr. Le Grand's History of King Henry the Eighth's Divorce. To which is added, a Censure of Mr. de Meaux's (John Benigne Bossuet, late Bishop of Condom) History of the Variations of the Protestant Churches; together with some further Reflections on Mr. Le Grand. 1689. 4to.

22. A Letter to Dr. William Lloyd, Lord Bishop of Coventry and Litchfield, concerning a Book lately published, called "A Specimen of some Errors and Defects in the History of the Reformation of the Church of England." By Anthony Harmer. 1693. 4to.

23. An Essay on the Memory of Queen Mary. London, 1695. 8vo. Edinburgh, 1695. 12mo.

24. Reflections on a book, entitled "the Rights, Powers, and Privileges of an English Convocation stated and vindicated," by Francis Atterbury, M. A.; afterwards Bishop of Rochester and Dean of Westminster. 1700. 4to.

25. * The History of His Own Time, in two volumes folio. The first published 1723, the second in 1734. † To which was added,

* The name of Anthony Harmer was a fictitious and delusive name, assumed in order to conceal the true author, who was Mr. Henry Wharton, chaplain to Archbishop Sancroft.

† The author of a paper in Hibernicus's Letters, &c. written by several eminent hands in Dublin, styles this "an incomparable history, which, for its noble impartiality and sincerity, never was equalled but by Polybius and Philip de Comines: a history which hath received the best testimony of its worth from the mouth of its enemies, by giving equal essence to the bigoted and interested of all parties, sects, and denominations amongst us. A history which doth honour to the language it is writ in, and will for ever make the name of Burnet sacred and venerable to all who prefer an empire of reason and laws to that of blind passion and unbridled will and pleasure."—See Hibernicus's Letters, vol. i. numb. xxiii.

‡ The conclusion of this history, which is addressed to men of all orders and degrees, hath been published in small 12mo. that it may circulate into the hands of numbers of persons whom the his-

the Life of the Author by his Son, Thomas Burnet, Esq. ; since one of the Justices of the Court of Common Pleas ; who also published a Defence of this History, in Reply to the Objections of the Right Honourable George Granville, Lord Lansdown, contained in a pamphlet, entitled “ A Letter to the Author of the Reflections, Historical and Political.”

The Bishop left finished, and prepared for the press, a book entitled “ Essays and Meditations on Morality and Religion ;” with directions in his last Will that it should be printed ; but I cannot find that this order was ever executed.

13th March, 1753.

R. F.

tory itself might never reach. It is, as the Bishop himself observeth, “ a sort of testament or dying speech, which,” saith he, “ I leave behind me to be read and considered when I can speak no more.” The alarming, important truths contained in it, are expressed in such a propriety and energy of style, and so solemnly laid home to the consciences of men, that they are admirably calculated and adapted to awaken in the rising generation a strong and lively sense of religion, virtue, and public spirit.

POSTSCRIPT.

SINCE the foregoing papers were sent to the press, the Reverend Mr. Sampson Letsome hath published an useful performance, entitled, “The Preacher’s Assistant, in two parts.”

In reviewing the account of Bishop Burnet’s Sermons, contained in “this work,” it appeareth that Mr. Letsome hath ascribed to him two funeral sermons: 1. On Ephes. v. 16.—1678. 4to. 2. On 2 Tim. i. 6.—1689. 4to. But I apprehend there is some mistake in this ascription. It is certain that neither of these sermons is included in the collection of sermons and discourses, written and printed in the years 1677—1704, published by the Bishop’s direction in 1704, in three volumes 4to. And I am the more confirmed in this sentiment, by observing that Mr. Letsome hath not referred to any library as containing the said sermons, nor produced any other authentic evidence in support of his ascribing them to the Bishop.

The like mistake may be observed in another work of the same nature with Mr. Letsome’s, entitled, “An Index to the Sermons published since the Restoration, in two parts;” the first printed in 1734, the second in 1738; since reprinted together in one volume, with considerable additions and improvements, 1751.

N. B. In drawing up the preceding account of the numerous writings of the late eminent and worthy prelate, the greatest diligence and application have been exerted in order to procure such authentic intelligence as might render it complete and accurate. But amidst a great variety of small tracts written and printed separately, at very different times, and at a period very distant from the present, it is not improbable but that some of those lesser pieces may have escaped the observation of the compiler. The discovery and correction of any errors or defects of this kind, communicated to Mr. Millar, in the Strand, will be gratefully acknowledged as a particular favour.

26th March, 1753.

In St. James's church, Clerkenwell, is a fair marble monument, erected to the memory of Bishop Burnet. The pediment, which is circular, is supported by pilasters of the composite order, on the extremities of which are urns, and

INSCRIPTION.

H. S. E.

GILBERTUS BURNET, S. T. P.

Episcopus SALISBURIENSIS,
Et nobilissimi Ordinis à Periscelide CANCELLARIUS
Natus EDINEURGI, 18 die Septembris Anno Domini MDCXLIII.
Parentibus ROBERTO BURNET, Domino de CREMONT,
Ex antiquissima domo de LEYES, et RACHELE JOHNSTON,
Sorore Domini de WARISTOUN.
ABERDONIÆ Literis instructus SALTONI curæ animarum invigilavit,
Inde Juvenis adhuc SACRO-SANCTÆ Theologiæ Professor in
Academia GLASGOENSI electus est.

Postquam in ANGLIAM transiit rem sacram per aliquot
Annos Templo Rotulorum LONDINI administravit, donec
nimis acriter (ut iis qui rerum tum potiebantur visum est)
Ecclesiæ Romanæ malas artes insectatus, ab officio submotus est.
E patria, temporum iniquitate profugus, EUROPAM peragravit.
Et deinceps cum Principe AURIACO reversus, primus omnium
a Rege GULIELMO et Regina MARIA Præsul designatus,
et in summum tandem fiduciæ testimonium ab eodem
Principe Duci GLOCESTRIENSI Præceptor dictus est.

Tyrannidi et Superstitioni semper infensum scripta eruditissima
Demonstrant, nec non Libertatis Patriæ veræque Religionis
strenuum semperque indefessum Propugnatorem. Quorum
utriusque conservandæ spem unam jam à longo tempore in
Illustrissima Domo BRUNSVICENSI collocarat. Postquam
autem Dei Providentia singulari Regem GEORGIUM
Sceptro BRITANNO potitum conspexerat; brevi jam
Annorum et felicitatis satur è vivis excessit.

Duxit Uxorem Dominam MARGARITAM KENNEDY Comitis
CASSILLIÆ filiam, dein MARIAM SCOT HAGÆ COMITIS, quæ ei
Septem liberos peperit, quorum adhuc in vivis sunt

GULIELMUS, GILBERTUS, MARIA, ELIZABETHA, et THOMAS.

Postremo Uxorem duxit viduam ELIZABETHAM BERKELEY
qua duos liberos suscepit, fato præmature non multo post extinctos.
Amplissimam pecuniam in pauperibus alendis, et in sumptibus sed
ad utilitatem publicam spectantibus, vivus continuo erogavit, moriens
Duo millia Aureorum ABERDONIÆ SALTONOQUE ad Juventutem pauperiorum
instituendam Testamento legavit.

Obiit 17 Die Martii, Anno Domini MDCCXIV-XV. Ætatis LXXII.

in the centre are the arms of the see of Salisbury and Burnet impaled in a shield; on the frieze are cut in relievo several books and rolls; amongst which is one entitled, HIST. REFORM. and on the tablet underneath is this

Here lies interred
 GILBERT BURNET, Doctor in Divinity,
 Bishop of SALISBURY,
 and CHANCELLOR of the most noble Order of the Garter.
 Born at EDINBURGH, the 18th of September A. D. MDCXLIII.
 His parents were ROBERT BURNET, Laird of CREMONT,
 descended from the most antient family of LEYES, and RACHEL JOHNSTON,
 Sister to the Lord of WARISTOUN.
 Having studied at ABERDEEN, he entered on the cure of souls at SALTON,
 And though as yet a young man, he was chosen Divinity Professor
 in the University of GLASGOW.
 From hence he passed into ENGLAND, where he performed the duties
 Of the ministerial office for several years in the Rolls chapel in LONDON,
 Till for inveighing too sharply, (in the opinion of those who were then at the head of affairs,
 Against the impious frands of the Church of ROME,
 He was suspended from his office, and being forced to fly his country,
 By the iniquity of the times, he made a tour through EUROPE,
 And afterwards returning with the Prince of ORANGE, he was
 the first Bishop nominated by King WILLIAM and Queen MARY;
 and which was the highest mark of confidence, was, at length, by the same Prince,
 made Preceptor to the Duke of GLOUCESTER.
 His most learned Writings demonstrate that he was a declared Enemy
 to Tyranny and Superstition; and that he was always
 a strenuous indefatigable Advocate for the Liberty of his Country and the true Religion:
 For the preservation of each of which he had for a long time before
 placed his only hopes in the most illustrious Family of BRUNSWICK:
 And after, by the special Providence of GOD, he had seen King GEORGE
 in the possession of the British sceptre, he soon departed this life,
 having attained the summit of his wishes with regard to length of days and earthly happiness.
 He married first the Lady MARGARET KENNEDY, daughter
 of the Earl of CASSILIS, and afterwards MARY SCOT of the HAGUE,
 who bore him seven children, of whom
 WILLIAM, GILBERT, MARY, ELIZABETH, and THOMAS, are still living.
 Lastly, he married ELIZABETH BERKELEY, a widow,
 By whom he had two children, which were snatched away in their infancy.
 While he lived, he was continually bestowing considerable sums of money
 in relieving the Poor, and in other expenses conducing to the public Benefit;
 And, at his death, he left a legacy of two thousand pounds
 for the instruction of poor children and young persons at ABERDEEN and SALTON.
 He died the 17th of March, A. D. MDCCXIV-XV., in the seventy-second
 Year of his Age.

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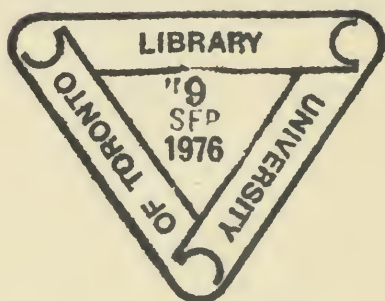
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